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ABSTRACT

Reflecting a set of convictions and assumptions about the need for and the process of change in the international education of American children and adolescents, a broad, cooperative study was undertaken concerning the following questions: (1) What is international education? That is, how can international education be most fruitfully defined or conceptualized? (2) What should be the major objectives of international education in the schools? That is, what contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to the international education of children and young people? (3) Given answers to these questions, what needs to be done with respect to curriculum development, basic research, and teacher education in the field of international education? (4) What intellectual talents and resources exist for undertaking needed research and development work and how can these be effectively mobilized? To give these questions final and universally acceptable answers was not the purpose of the study. Rather, it was to selectively survey the thinking of American educators and social scientists with respect to these questions through interviews, conferences, and meetings, and hopefully in so doing to lay the foundation for a continuing and systematic examination of needs, objectives, and priorities in international education. It was hoped that the conclusions and recommendations set forth in the study would serve as stimuli and guides to a continuing dialog and exploration as well as to new research and development efforts in the field of international education. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF OBJECTIVES, NEEDS AND PRIORITIES IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN U. S. SECONDARY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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July, 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PREFACE

In its more than fifty years of effort to develop informed and responsible public opinion on foreign policy, the Foreign Policy Association has periodically examined the whole range of educational and informational agencies in order to add new activities where the needs were greatest and the opportunities most promising. In 1965 FPA committed itself to a major national effort to improve the teaching of world affairs in the nation's schools. Behind this decision were the facts that for about half of the student population the last opportunity to study world affairs in any systematic way comes in high school, and that increasing research evidence indicates that attitudes and interests in international matters are frequently well formed before the end of high school.

Servicing schools, responding to requests, surveying curriculum guides and instructional materials convinced FPA's School Services staff that despite some imaginative efforts and a few outstanding programs in international affairs education, considerable confusion and a lack of direction existed with respect to this area of study in the nation's schools. Therefore FPA proposed a broad, cooperative effort be undertaken to: (1) identify the country's best thinking with respect to goals, needs, and priorities, and (2) engage the interest and participation of many able educators and scholars where efforts are required if substantial progress is to be made in the international dimensions of the curriculum.

Growing out of the study, this report provides a rationale for international affairs education, presents a list of objectives, and outlines some of the implications of this rationale for research, curriculum development and teacher education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Foreign Policy Association is indebted to many people for their contributions to the project reported herein. Roger Mastrude, Vice President of FPA, was largely responsible for designing the study. The person primarily responsible for carrying this effort to completion was Dr. Lee Anderson, Department of Political Science and School of Education, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Dr. Anderson provided excellent leadership throughout the study, drafted the major parts of the report, and made the study an exciting and stimulating experience to those who have been involved.

The report draws on the work of many who due to space limitations shall not be named. However special recognition must be extended to: Dr. Judith Torney, presently at the College of Education, University of Illinois, whose work was facilitated by a faculty fellowship from the Illinois Institute of Technology for Spring Semester 1969, and Dr. Harry Targ, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, for major contributions to Chapter IV -- their work was assisted by Natalie Morgan under a federal work-study grant; Mr. H. Thomas Collins, Director, Division of School Services, African-American Institute, who prepared the major part of Chapter III; and Mr. Frank Klassen, Associate Secretary, Association of American Colleges for Teacher Education, for work on Chapter V.

Thanks are also extended to the paper writers whose names appear in Appendix B, to those who participated in conferences and to the vast number of individuals who by their suggestions and expressions of views and interests contributed to the success of the study. Particular appreciation is due Miss Elaine Malmberg for her enthusiasm, competence, and efficiency in handling a multitude of responsibilities associated with all phases of the study.

INTRODUCTION

Among the many changes in American life spawned by the continuing revolution in world affairs is a growing interest in the international education of children and young people. This is manifest in many ways, but perhaps most conspicuously in a number of trends in recent social studies curriculum development. American schools are putting increased emphasis upon the study of the non-western world. In recent years a few states have mandated, and several hundred school districts have established, new courses in non-western studies, and several of the national curriculum development projects are producing materials for teaching about Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There is also a growing interest in cross-national or cross-cultural comparative studies. Materials are commercially available for the comparative study of politics and economics in the ninth grade, and new materials are forthcoming for the comparative study of family systems, religions, cities, and national histories, as well as the polity and the economy. Many educators are stressing the importance of enhancing the objectivity and intellectual honesty of instruction about the United States, other societies, and international events. Teachers are evidencing a growing interest in international relations and foreign policy as textbooks, collections of readings, films, case studies, and simulations become available for classroom use. Historians have been joined by anthropologists in efforts to "globalize" the study of world history as is evidenced in efforts to improve the quality of instruction about the evolution and early cultural development of the human species, in attempts to increase the amount of time and attention students devote to the study of human history in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in endeavors to overcome the ethnocentric biases that characterized many traditional European-centered world histories. The emphasis upon the study of man qua man reflected in these efforts is also manifest in attempts of social scientists to build into the curriculum more behavioral science-based studies of basic human behaviors and social activities, including studies that make extensive use of man-other animal comparisons.[1]

We believe that a point has been reached in the process of expanding the international dimension of the social studies curriculum where we can profitably pause to take stock of what has been done and to look ahead to some of the tasks that should be undertaken in the course of the next several years in order to further enhance the quality of the international education available in American schools. The study by the Foreign Policy Association that is summarized in this report represents one such stock-taking effort.

II. Assumptions of the Study

The study reflects a set of convictions and assumptions about the need for and the process of change in the international education of American children and adolescents. These begin with the highly reasonable assumption that the rapid and extensive change that has characterized man's condition in the recent decades will not suddenly halt. To the contrary, one can reasonably expect that the world in which today's and tomorrow's children will look out upon as adults will be in a great many respects a very different social landscape than exists today, just as the shape of the current world is very different from what existed but a few years ago. Robert North, in a paper prepared in connection with this study, has attempted to portray the range of possible futures in the form of a pessimistic and optimistic mapping of the shape of the human condition in the course of the next half century.[2]

Pessimistic

Cataclysmic nuclear, biological or radiological war
or
Proliferation of more conventional and less devastating, but nevertheless destructive and disruptive, wars on land, or sea, in the air, and in space; or generations of cold war; nuclear or other blackmail from military bases in space; ideological warfare through control of communications satellites.

Vast population surpluses coupled with continuing pollution and exhaustion of resources - at least in some parts of the world.

Rich nations getting richer; poor nations getting poorer, and within nations the well-to-do majority gaining while the depressed minorities become more depressed. Wars of "liberation" in underdeveloped areas and endemic guerrilla conflicts threatening to escalate.

Proliferation of conflicts along a single or a few lines of cleavage, i.e., the richer, securer, advancing, healthier, longer-living, and less prolific whites versus the poorer, less secure, slower developing, less healthy, shorter-living, more prolific coloreds.

Cybernetic control of visual and audial communication networks around the world by a single autocratic power or two or three deeply antagonistic superpowers.

Supergovernments (or superindustries,

Optimistic

World-wide, consensual, pluralistic, but effective, international control, and institutions for resolving international disputes - possibly with decentralized regional units for regional conflicts. Universally sanctioned countervailing measures for heading off disorders and potentially dangerous confrontations - some economic, perhaps others social, political, or judicial. National armed forces as out of date as private armed forces are today - armies, navies, and air forces (if they exist at all) having become a carefully controlled and safeguarded monopoly of the international peace-keeping institutions for the preservation of international law, order, and justice. Today's vast military technology will be converted for ocean and space exploration and colonization and other constructive enterprises on a vast international scale.

Population levels carefully regulated by region in accord with available resources and levels of productivity. Loosening of national barriers to allow free flows of travel and immigration correlated with inducements to attract populations where a labor force is needed, or where the environment can support larger numbers religious, benevolent and protective associations, or crime syndicates or what not) controlling - with cybernetic aids - tax levying and collection, police surveillance, education and indoctrination, political and/or religious belief without countervailing pressures and protections available to individuals and small groups; dictatorships with almost instantly retrievable master files and dossiers for each of its citizens with vital statistics, intelligence and aptitude quotients, personality profiles, school credentials, employment records, tax status, law violations, record of memberships, associations, incautious remarks, indiscretions and so forth; states or professional bodies with the knowledge and power to lengthen or shorten life, tamper surgically or genetically, and the like.

Societies in which automation performs most of the functions and large numbers of human beings are left with time which they do not know how to spend. Proliferation of neuroses and alienations.

Vast cities with vast slums poorly fed, housed, sanitized and educated.

Societies of the aged.

Disappearance of forests and wildlife except in a few, inadequate reserves in favor of vast stretches of tarmac, concrete paving, and rows of prefabricated dwelling boxes. Continuing pollution of rivers, lakes, harbors, bays, coastal waters, and air.

Clogging of transportation lines on land, sea, and in the air. Accumulations of orbiting junk in near space.

Metropolitan social, economic and political functions are always a of people.

World-wide opportunities for advancement on the basis of inherent capability and without restriction to race, creed, or color. Rational, world-wide, intercontinental, intercultural, and international program for agricultural, economic, technological, and scientific development.

Internationally regulated visual and audial communication networks serving as a world-wide free and open market place for news, information, knowledge, and culture. Strict safeguards against possibilities for monolithic control by a single nation or narrow alliance of nations.

Division and dispersion of governmental decision and control - according to function - on local (village, town, city, locality), provincial, national, regional, and world-wide levels. World-wide, international functions limited to the keeping of world-wide peace, international economic, technological, scientific, and communications regulation and development, space exploration and control, and the like. National autonomy with respect to national affairs which do not impinge on the welfare and security of other nations. Considerable provincial and local autonomy wherever such autonomy is functional or calculated as desirable to counterbalance the power and authority of the national government. Vastly increased citizen participation in local, provincial, and even - to some extent - national governments. With more leisure, the citizen can pattern himself after the citizens of Athens.

As cybernetics and automation take over more and more of the repetitive tasks of society, the educational system enhances the capacities of citizenry to participate in the decade or more behind population growth and technological growth so that industry gives rise to more slum areas. Health, educational, and welfare programs are inadequate; transportation facilities are a decade or two behind what the populace requires. Ghettos expand in many of the world's vaster and more extensive cities and urban belts.

Scientific and technological developments proceed so rapidly that only a narrow intellectual elite can keep up with exploding knowledge and specialized skills. Political, social, and economic institutions increasingly fail in making adjustments to the changing environment, and individual human beings find it increasingly difficult to adapt psychologically and behaviorally to the changes that are taking place so rapidly.

arts (painting, sculpture, music, literature, theater, dance, motion picture making); science (experiment, discovery); self government, and other creative undertakings. With time, machines take over labor functions almost entirely and leave each human being free to develop a creative talent.

Urban areas carefully planned in conjunction with open spaces - mountains, lakes, rivers, beaches, bays, parks, deserts and other preserves. All wastes - water, air, food remnants, scrap metal - collected and reprocessed. Services and facilities (hospitals, playgrounds, churches, school libraries, colleges, universities, museums, auditoriums, art galleries, theaters, and so forth) localized in neighborhoods to provide ready access. Institutions designed to prevent growth of slum areas by injecting economic, medical, technical, educational, social, or cultural assistance.

Cybernetics, learning theory, teaching machines, and general systems conceptual frameworks will speed the learning process enormously to develop citizens who can adapt to the exponential growth of technology and participate in adapting his social, economic and political institutions to a rapidly changing environment. In addition, the new learning will foster a renaissance in art, music, literature, the theater, and so forth.

From this learning, and as an outcome of wisdom accumulated from practical experience, an enlightened citizenry of the world will discover how to make constructive use of bio-engineering, the prolongation of human life, and the capacity for creating life. Societies will achieve a stable equilibrium of age distribution.

North goes on to observe that very likely the high probabilities lie somewhere between these pessimistic and optimistic extremes, but that the critical thing to note is that the course of the future is not wholly determined by forces already in motion. Among the contingencies that can affect the shape of the future is education. As North writes:

> "It will make a significant difference how human beings are educated all over the world, but especially, perhaps, in the technologically more advanced nations of the world including the United States. The behaviors of people everywhere will depend crucially upon the ways in which they are taught to perceive and interpret the universe, the earth and its envelope, the world community, their own respective nations, themselves and their families, and their roles, statuses, and functions in these various, more or less overlapping or nesting organizations, milieu, contexts, or systems."[3]

These observations point up the first of a series of interrelated assumptions which underlie the study, assumptions which, for brevity's sake, can be summarized in propositional form:

> The future will be partially shaped by how American children and young people learn to perceive and interpret the world.
>
> The sophistication of their perception and the adequacy of their interpretation will be partially shaped by the quality of the international dimension of the schools' curriculum.
>
> The quality of the international dimension of the schools' curriculum in the 1970's and beyond will be partially shaped by the research and development work undertaken by educators and social scientists in the course of the next several years.
>
> The kinds of research and development work undertaken will be partially shaped by how educators and social scientists perceive the structure and objectives of international education.

This last proposition brings us to a statement of the concerns of the FPA study.

III. The Concerns of the Study

We have been concerned in the course of this study with three primary problems: First, we have attempted to develop a conception of how international education might be fruitfully defined for purposes of future research and development work in the area, and a conception of the objectives that ought to be served by the schools. Second, we have tried to identify some of the major implications of these conceptions of the structure and objectives of international education for future curriculum development, for basic research on pre-adult socialization, and for teacher education. Third, we have sought to identify some of the intellectual resources available for undertaking needed research and development activities, and to explore the problem of how these might be mobilized in effecting change in international education. We shall examine each of these concerns in somewhat more detail.

The Problem of Defining the Structure and Objectives of International Education

The first concern of the FPA study can be summarized in the twin questions:

> What is international education? That is, how can international education be most fruitfully defined for purposes of planning and developing future curriculum, basic research, and teacher training programs?
>
> What ought to be the objectives of the international education? That is, what contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to the international education of American children and adolescents?

These two issues are clearly basic desiterata in the planning and development of future programs in international education. Like so much recent concern with basic issues in education, our interest in these questions is a by-product of the rapid and extensive socio-cultural change that has engulfed American society along with the most of mankind. American schools are simultaneously experiencing many of the first and second-order consequences of those "revolutions" and "explosions" that have become modern man's daily companions. The revolution in science and technology, the moral revolution, the revolution in the behavioral sciences, the Black revolt, the knowledge explosion - all of these characterisitc forces of our time touch the operations of the schools.

In principle, the dynamics of this process are simple. Socio-cultural change in the schools' organizational environment breeds new educational needs and wants as well as re-definitions and new formulations of the school's traditional concerns. Parents, universities, and citizen groups, as well as educators themselves, transform these into demands upon the schools. Teachers, administrators, school boards, and curriculum developers are expected to convert these demands into decisions that create new courses of study, new teaching-learning materials, new ways of organizing the time and work of students and teachers, etc.

In considering international education three demands are of particular relevance: First, the schools are being called upon to expand, indeed to globalize, the geographical focus of the curriculum, particularly social studies instruction. Traditionally, the schools have been looked to as organizational environments in which children and young people acquire many of the concepts, attitudes, values, skills, and information which adults deem relevant to the task of making sense out of the physical and social environments students will occupy as adults. Today the psychologically salient environment of children and young people and certainly the sociologically relevant environment of tomorrow's adult citizens is planet-wide in scope, and in fact is being gradually extended beyond the planet earth's traditional cosmic boundaries. Thus, in order to fulfill their traditional mission in social education of young people, the schools are expected to develop curriculum whose geographical focus is the world as a whole rather than just the United States or, somewhat more broadly, the northwestern region of the planet.

Second, the schools are expected to incorporate into their social studies programs substantially more of the concepts, analytical problems, and modes of inquiry characteristic of the new social sciences such as anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, and social psychology. This demand, like the call for expanded geographical focus, represents an effort to adapt the school's traditional organizational mission to the changing character of man's historic condition. Education and particularly social education in large measure is a matter of self-identification. The child brings to the school, albeit in unarticulated form, the fundamental questions: "Who am I?" and "What are we?" The school along with parents, the mass media, peers, and other agents of socialization in complex societies, provides a series of answers some fraction of which the young humans internalize and organize into an expanding self-image of who and what they are. In contemporary society the cultural sources of our self-conceptions are no longer confined to the traditional disciplines of history, geography, philosophy, and theology superimposed upon the folk culture of the society. In recent years the social, or more broadly and accurately, the behavioral sciences have become increasingly significant sources of knowledge about man, his behaviors, and the societies and social institutions his species creates and destroys. Thus, the development of some understanding of who and what we are as biological systems, as personality systems, as the creatures and the creators of cultural systems, and as the participants in systems of social action, requires a curriculum that blends the traditional concerns of the historian, the geographer, and the guardians of the society's heritage with the concerns of sociology, political science, economics, anthropology, etc.

Third, the schools are being called upon to evolve conceptions of the aims of formal education congruent with the realities of rapid and extensive change in American society and the world at large. As Alfred North Whitehead points out, we live in a period unique in modern history in that we can no longer assume, as most men have assumed, that each generation will live their lives amidst situations substantially the same as those which "governed its fathers, and will transmit those conditions to mould with equal force the lives of its children." In the past, "the time span of important change was considerably longer than that of a single life." Today, in contrast, this time-span of change can "be considerably shorter than that of a human life...."[4]

Some of the implications of this situation for education are obvious although the task of translating these into the "nitty-gritty" of curriculum reform are not. Childhood and adolescence must be a time when individuals are trained to "face a novelty of conditions." Pre-adult education, in large measure, must be aimed at preparing individuals to anticipate change, and at developing those qualities of heart and mind which would seem to be functional in coping with continually changing social and cultural environments.

What kind of contributions can elementary and secondary schools make to the development of human beings capable of living with continuous change? Many educators have come to argue that the schools' primary and most durable contribution to a young person's education lies in developing within him or her the attitudes and skills requisite to continuous learning. In a word, it would seem that the schools ought to be primarily environments in which individuals learn to learn. Elliott Smith puts the argument well. In a world of change, students

> "must learn much more after graduation than they can possibly learn in school or college; and for the most part they must be their own teachers. What is important in any program of general education, therefore, is less what the student learns at the time than how well his education fits him to go on learning in the future."[5]

No one is sufficiently pretentious to claim to know fully what are the essential features of a curriculum that equips individuals for a life of continuous learning, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that the school years should be a time when individuals cultivate a capacity for conceptual and critical thinking combined with some understanding of and skill in the process of systematic inquiry.

The task of responding constructively to these demands is, at best, an arduous organizational enterprise, and for some schools a politically sensitive venture. In general, the schools' pattern of response is what a student of complex organizations would predict. Curriculum change, on the whole, fits very well the social scientist's model of incremental and disjointed decision-making, for innovations have tended to come incrementally and change has been disjointed.[6] To the traditional academic fare is added a bit of instruction about foreign policy; at still another time and place in the curriculum a bit of cultural anthropology; at another grade level some work in foreign area studies; elsewhere something about the U.N.; a unit or two on communism; a bit of international relations; and perhaps a unit or two on "critical thinking."

While this strategy of change cannot be faulted since one cannot reasonably expect a system as large, as decentralized, and as politically sensitive as American education to react to demands for change in any other way, this pattern bears the predictable social costs. One of the more important of these is an accumulation of confusion about what international education is, and closely related to this, a great deal of uncertainty about what ought to be happening to individuals as a result of the schools' efforts to teach about world affairs. Confusion and uncertainty about the structure and objectives of international education in turn breeds confusion, uncertainty, and non-rationality in the decisions determining the specifics of curriculum content and organization. Charles McClelland illustrates the problem in this way:

> Should the Pueblos be studied in the fourth grade? The answer needs to be cast in terms of what it is that would make the factual information about Pueblos relevant to some particular learning objective and it would be conceivable that the Ainus, Todas, or Zulus might serve the purpose just as well. Is modern history more important

> than ancient history to "know about" in a world history course, and should Western Europe receive more attention than China? Is a geographical interpretation more valuable than an economic interpretation? Should the histories of wars be subordinated and accomplishments of peaceful evolution be stressed? Is it more important that the content of some social science disciplines be transferred to the social studies while the content of others is omitted? Is there some particular body of factual information that must be taught in the 12 years between kindergarten and college, no matter what the order and the form? The argument here is that these questions and hundreds of others of the same type are not independent and that there is no significant answer to them unless further criteria are provided.[7]

The criteria to which McClelland refers would seem to include, on the one hand, adequate conceptions of the nature or structure of international education and, on the other hand, reasonably detailed statements of the primary objectives of international education. In short, to adequately plan and develop future programs in international education, the questions noted above must be answered. First, how can we fruitfully conceptualize international education? Second, what should be considered the primary objectives that the schools ought to seek to achieve in their efforts to teach children and young people something about the world into which they have been cast? The fact that these questions are raised indicates that, in our judgement, adequate answers are not currently available.

The first of these matters clearly constitutes a problem surrounded by a great deal of semantic confusion. "International education" is a term of many usages and hence of multiple meanings. We sometimes use the phrase in referring to cross-cultural or comparative studies of educational systems and practices. For example, a comparative study of Soviet and American education can be classified as a study in international education. The phrase is also used in talking about educational assistance rograms to developing nations, as well as in discussions of the educational activities of such agencies as UNESCO. We also think of the international exchange of students and teachers as programs in international education. Obviously none of these usages point to what is meant by international education in the context of elementary and secondary schools, in which there are few efforts to explicate or elaborate the meaning of international education. While we talk and write a great deal about the importance of such education in a shrinking world, few have paused long enough to try to specify in a conceptually sophisticated manner the meaning of international education.[8] The lack of adequate conceptions of what international education is would be of only academic significance were the curriculum in our schools based on operating, albeit unarticulated, images of international education congruent with the educational needs of the time. As is suggested later in this report, one suspects this is not the case.

In regard to the matter of educational objectives or goals, the situation is somewhat different, but the problems confronting American educators are comparable. It is different in that there have been several efforts to specify the aims that ought to be served by the schools in the area of international education. The most complete collection of statements about curricular objectives is found in the pages of the 1954 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, Approaches to an Understanding of World Affairs.[9] Many of these are couched in sufficiently general terms to permit being stated in a few sentences. Various similar statements issued by various educational bodies share this characteristic of being very general.

Nor is much assistance forthcoming from those who have written on the subject of teaching world affairs at the college level. Such studies as those of Bidwell and of the Wilsons, for example, stress the importance of teaching for responsible U.S. citizenship and for civic competence in an age of swift change and frequent crisis, as well as stressing the inherent educational values of a liberal education whose content is cosmopolitan.[10] While valuable in considering what ought to be the general outcomes of education, these writings are also too broad to offer a clear focus for curriculum-building.

There are, moreover, divergent views of objectives which have not been either faced or reconciled. Statements by Kenworthy and Laves, among others, are plainly oriented primarily toward the well-being of the world as a whole, rather than the nation.[11] Others, such as Kirk, build on the premise that the focus must be that of learning to function intelligently "as a citizen of a great democracy."[12] Educational planning will be quite different if it is based on supranational premises, the needs of the nation-state, or some system which in one way or another reconciles these. Shall teaching be value-free and primarily analytical and factual, or shall it inculcate values thought to be essential to world peace? As Becker and Porter have pointed out:

> The point here is that our motivations, our concerns, will largely determine the nature of the program or curriculum and the instructional materials used. If we are confused about our purpose or have ill-defined purposes, then the courses involved and their goals are also likely to be confused and lacking in direction. An analysis of curriculum guides, with respect to international understanding, reveals in most instances a lack of focus or framework. Since the term "international understanding" is poorly defined, the programs themselves seldom contain clear criteria for selecting content and approaches.[13]

The Problem of Identifying Implications for Future Research and Development Work in International Education

The confusion and uncertainty characteristic of much of our discourse and, we suspect, our thinking about the nature and objectives of international education hurts no one, at least in the sense that should this situation miraculously alter over night the change would have little consequence for the children and young people currently in the nation's schools. Should by chance we all awake tomorrow our minds pregnant with clear and detailed conceptions of the structure and objectives of international education, when 9:00 A.M. came around, life in the nation's classrooms would go on little changed. But if ideas about the nature of things are powerless to affect the past and can only caress the surface of the present, they can have consequences for the future. That is, they can have consequences if embodied in educational planning, research, and development endeavors. Thus, a second concern of the FPA study centers on the problem of working out the implications of conceptions of the structure and objectives of international education for future research and development work in the area. We are concerned with these implications in each of three areas:

The first of these is social studies curriculum development. Our concern simply stated is: What can and should be done to strengthen the international dimension of the curriculum?

The second area of concern is basic research in the development of international orientation during childhood and adolescence. While there is a growing body of research findings and theory on pre-adult socialization, relatively little work has been done on what can be termed the process of international socialization, that is, the induction of young humans into the international or world system. As a result, we know very little about what Richard Snyder has aptly termed the "international world of the child." In this study we have endeavored to outline what appear to be some major research needs that must be met if we are to substantially improve our understanding of the content and structure of children and young peoples' internationally relevant images, attitudes, and information-processing skills, along with our knowledge of the agents, processes, and developmental sequences of international socialization.

Third, we have tried to identify some of the implications that our conception of the structure and objectives of international education carry for the development of programs in teacher education. We suspect that, even with the most self-instructive of materials and under the most congenial of circumstances favoring "independent study", the classroom teacher is an active agent in her or his students' education (or miseducation), and hence, one cannot consider enhancing the quality of international education in the schools apart from considering what must be done to enhance the quality of the teacher's own international education.

We can summarize this second concern of the FPA study in the question:

> What are the implications of given conceptions of the structure and objectives of international education for future (a) curriculum development, (b) basic research on pre-adult international socialization, and (c) programs in teacher education.

The Problem of Identifying, Mobilizing, and Coordinating Intellectual Resources

The inventorying of research and development needs in the field of international education implies two hopes: One of these is that existing within the society are the intellectual resources required to meet these needs, and the other is that these resources can be effectively mobilized and coordinated in a cumulative attack on major research and development problems in the field of international education. This indicates the third concern of the FPA study:

> What intellectual resources are available for undertaking needed research and development work in international education, and how can these be mobilized to effect change in international education?

These then, are the concerns of the FPA study:

1. How can international education be most fruitfully defined?

2. What contribution can and should the schools make to the international education of children and young people?

3. What needs to be done in respect to future curriculum development, basic research, and teacher education?

4. What intellectual resources are available for undertaking needed research and development work, and how can these be mobilized to effect needed change in international education?

IV. Purposes of the Study

We are not naive enough to believe that universally acceptable, let alone final and definitive, answers can be given these questions in the course of a single study or, indeed, in the course of many studies. However, we do believe it is worthwhile to try to take stock of where we stand on these issues and in so doing hopefully lay the ground work for a continuing examination of international education that elicits the collaboration of educators and social scientists. This is the purpose of the FPA study. On the other hand, we have endeavored to survey the thinking of American educators and social scientists in regard to the problems outlined above and to summarize what we think we have learned. We do so in the hope that our conclusions and recommendations will serve as a stimulus to a continuing exploration and analysis of these basic problems.

V. The Procedures of the FPA Study

Our efforts to achieve these purposes have involved us in six primary kinds of activities:

First, we have consulted the extant literature on international education[14] and have reviewed current curriculum development efforts.[15]

Second, we invited several outstanding educators and social scientists to prepare papers dealing with selected aspects of international education.[16]

Third, the School Services Staff of the FPA has consulted with a large number of educators and social scientists,[17] has solicited the assistance of international studies specialists,[18] and outlined and explored ideas with teachers at several conferences.[19]

Fourth, we have organized a series of conferences for educators and social scientists designed to explore ideas and recommendations put forward in the papers prepared for and by the FPA, and have distributed these papers to others unable to attend the conferences.[20]

Fifth, we have disseminated some of the ideas emerging from the study in a special issue of Social Education entitled "International Education for the Twenty-First Century".[21]

Sixth, we have endeavored in this report to briefly describe our efforts to deal with the problems noted above and to summarize the major conclusions and recommendations that have been reached.

CHAPTER I

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

I. Introduction

The first concern of the FPA study is definitive. It is summarized in the questions:

> What is international education? How can international education be most fruitfully defined for purposes of planning and developing future curriculum, basic research, and programs in teacher education?

As the study was initially conceived, this matter was an implicit but not explicitly formulated problem. The problem of specifying the objectives which the schools ought to serve in the area of international education was at first intended to be the starting point of inquiry. In the words of the initial proposal:

> To state the central problem first, despite many imaginative efforts and some outstanding programs in international affairs education, there is considerable confusion and pronounced lack of direction with respect to this area of study in the nation's schools. No general agreement has yet been reached as to what the students in our schools ought to learn in the international field.[1]

Shortly after beginning our examination of this problem it became evident that a serious consideration of the question of "what the students in our schools ought to learn in the international field," presupposed a conception or definition of international education. Hence, we found it necessary to make the problem of definition an explicit point of inquiry. We began that inquiry realizing that definitions are always in some measure stipulations. There is obviously no such thing as 'international education' in the sense of something stored away in the universe awaiting discovery and hence description; international education, like the Constitution, is what the judges say it is. In this case the judges are educators and social scientists joined by countless school boards, citizen groups, parents, and students who direct and shape the operation of the schools. Each brings to the problem of definition his own partly ideocentric images of the world and conceptions of the mission of the schools in educating young humans about the world. Moreover, each of us hopefully is capable of continuous learning and hence, our conceptions of international education, as well as our modes of perceiving and interpreting the world, are subject to change in response to changes in the world. All of this means that the job of defining international education must be viewed as an on-going endeavor in contrast to a task that can be completed once and for all.

But the fact that it is probably impossible to arrive at a conception of international education that elicits universal support or unqualified allegiance does not mean that a search for a conceptually adequate definition is of only academic or esoteric interest. Basic definitions control the activity that occurs in any field of endeavor; thus, how international education is viewed or conceived substantially conditions what happens and does not happen with respect to curriculum development, basic research, and teacher education.

II. Prevailing Conception of International Education

Our consideration of the problem of how international education might be most fruitfully viewed or defined began with an examination of the conceptions that appeared to prevail within the field. It was soon discovered that few schools and not many educators (or for that matter social scientists) claim a formal theory or developed philosophy of international education. However, this does not mean that school curricula are not grounded in, or conditioned by, operating, albeit unarticulated, conceptions of what world affairs education is all about. A survey of the curriculum guides, teaching materials and approaches used in many schools suggests the existence of two widely prevailing operating conceptions of international education. The first (and one that seems to have traditionally dominated much of elementary education) is the idea of international education as education about other lands and peoples. The second (and not unrelated) conception is the perception of international education as the instruction that occurs in certain specified courses or domains of traditional academic concern such as foreign area studies, international relations, foreign policy, cross-national comparative studies, and world history.

While something can be said for each of these views, in our judgment, neither provides an adequate conceptual foundation on which to develop future programs in international education. Each seems deficient in certain important respects.

One of the more widely claimed purposes of international studies in the schools is the reduction of students' ethnocentric perception of the world; however, by conceiving international education as education about other lands and peoples a "we-they" distinction is built into the very heart of the enterprise. Also the dividing of the world into "things American" and "things non-American" for purposes of their study, obscures the degree to which studies of American history, society, and social institutions have important international dimensions which can serve to either detract from or augment the development of students' understanding of the world beyond their nation's boundaries.

Moreover, the adequacy of our conceptions of international education depends in large measure upon the adequacy of our images of what the world is like. Conceptions of international education as education about other lands and peoples appear to rest upon an image of the world as a mosaic of richly varied lands and peoples. An anthropologist examining the artifacts of American education (particularly curriculum guides and teaching materials found in many elementary schools) in an effort to reconstruct the world view of American educators, might well conclude that we tend to look upon the earth as a large pool table whose surface supports an array of scattered and largely self-contained billiard balls of many different colors. Given this perspective on the world, international education is then seen as being largely a matter of instructing young Americans about a few of the world's many colorful lands and peoples: that is, providing students with some information about the different ecologies, the particular histories, and the unique cultures of some of the many different balls arrayed about the table's surface. Clearly this is an excessively simplified picture, but perhaps not an entirely gross caricature of the international dimension of the curriculum found in many schools.

There is nothing wrong with our traditional conceptions in the sense of their being incorrect. The world is in fact a large and varied array of different civilizations, geographical regions, cultural areas, and societies with differing histories, cultural systems, and social institutions. Nor is there any question that international studies must consist in large measure of transmitting to young Americans some knowledge of, and hopefully a set of responsible attitudes toward, the planet's many other lands and the wide variation that characterizes the human species' cultural life and social institutions, in the hope that by learning about others, Americans will also better understand themselves.

But our conceptions of things can be correct and at the same time incomplete or inadequate. Such would seem the case with the notion of international education as education about other lands and peoples. Specifically, this approach fails to highlight the fact that contemporary children and young people need to develop some understanding of of the relationships and interactions among the world's national societies and cultural regions, some understanding of the expanding network of trans-national organizations and associations that link together all regions of the planet, as well as an understanding of the similarities and differences that characterize the world's local societies and cultural areas. In short, the traditional conception of international education fails to highlight the growing global interdependence that characterizes the historical lot of modern man.

In regard to the second prevailing notion of international education, we feel two things need to be said. The first of these has been argued very well by Leonard Kenworthy who points out that international education is not education bounded, and hence defined, by any particular set of disciplines or body of subject matter. Any area of academic concern and every subject matter has actual or potential international dimensions.[2] Indeed, one of the more exciting innovations in contemporary American education are efforts on the part of a few schools to infuse an international orientation into the total operation of the school.[3]

Secondly, a discipline or subject-matter-oriented conception of international education fails to satisfy a very acute need in contemporary curriculum development. This is the need for conceptualizations that facilitate the integration of traditionally disparate scholarly disciplines and fragmented subjects of inquiry. Obviously, a nominal definition of international education that simply points to the traditional concerns of particular disciplines or areas of academic interest, does not encourage or conceptually facilitate the search for an integrated curriculum.

These criticisms of the two prevailing popular conceptions of international education point up two criteria we believe it is important for a definition to meet if it is to be judged an adequate guide to future research and development efforts in international education. First, an adequate conception of international education must suggest approaches to teaching the young about the world that are in fact congruent with the traditionally professed purpose of reducing ethnocentric perceptions of the world by substituting, or at least supplementing, such perceptions with global or "world-minded" frames of reference. This means, among other things, that an adequate conception of international education must suggest ways of linking American and international studies. More specifically, it must highlight the fact that the study of American society has important international dimensions, and that American studies can be approached in ways that make the American experience both an independent object of inquiry and also a case study illuminating more general features of the human condition.

Second, a conception of international education to be judged satisfactory should suggest approaches to curriculum development that facilitate the integration of that seemingly disparate body of intellectual concerns traditionally associated with international studies: area studies, foreign policy, comparative studies, international relations, etc.

III. Two Attempts at Definition

In an effort to meet these criteria, (and also to reflect the fact that the "education" in international education is something that takes place in the total life space of individuals rather than simply in school classrooms), we developed, in an initial working paper, the following definition: International or world affairs education, we said, "refers to the learning experiences which children and adolescents undergo both within and outside of the school, that affect or condition the orientation they develop toward the international dimension of the social environment."

We defined "orientation" as the knowledge individuals possess about world affairs; the categories in terms of which they conceptualize their international environment; the cognitive skills employed in processing information about this environment; and the manner in which they relate emotionally to various elements within this international environment.

In turn we said that the term "international environment" could be conceptualized as being comprised of three major elements:

(1) societies;

(2) social institutions and associations that cross or span societal boundaries;

(3) interactions among groups and individuals across societal boundaries and between societies and cross-societal associations.

These elements were elaborated in this way:

(1) Societies

Historically human beings have been organized into territorially based associations which we term societies. The world's current population is organized into several thousand societies, of which more than 120 are nation-states. This particular set of societies constitutes the major actors in the contemporary international system, and constitutes a major focus or subject matter of world affairs education.

(2) Cross-societal institutions and associations

Territorial based groups are but one mode of human social organization. In addition to some 120 nations and a few scattered colonies and protectorates the contemporary international system is composed of several thousand institutions and associations which in membership influence, span or cross national boundaries, such as the United Nations, the International Postal Union, the World Bank, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, etc. In addition to the several thousand inter-governmental organizations, there are several thousand non-governmental groups which span two or more national boundaries. Examples include many large business firms, professional associations such as the International Political Science Association, religious groups and organizations, youth associations, service clubs, etc. This myriad of cross-national associations and institutions constitutes a second major focus or subject matter of international education.

(3) Interactions among societies and between societies and cross-national associations.

The international system, we have said, can be viewed as a system comprised of two kinds of units, societies, and associations cutting across societal boundaries. The system's one hundred plus societies and several thousand cross-national associations do not exist in isolation. Individuals and groups in one society interact with individuals and groups in other societies and in cross-national associations. We use the term interaction to refer to the flow or exchange of people, ideas, goods, services, and influence across national boundaries and between nations and cross-national associations. Obvious examples of interactions include international trade, migration, tourism, spying, communications, investment, cultural exchange and borrowing.

Criticisms of the Definition

The reaction of educators and social scientists with whom we explored the utility of this conception of international education proved to be a mixture of partial approval and of criticism. To begin with, we were reminded that the task we had defined for ourselves was that of seeking out a way of thinking about international education that would provide a solid conceptual foundation on which to plan and develop future curriculum, research, and teacher training programs in international education. In relation to this goal, it was pointed out that basic or controlling definitions in any field of endeavor derive their value from how well they serve as guides to action or directives for thought appropriate to the needs and circumstances of the time. This means that in the case of international education the adequacy of a definition must be judged by how well it illuminates or highlights the particular educational needs of children and young people who will live out most of their adult lives in the twenty-first century and who, in the apt imagery of Paul Todd, will become "the first settlers to colonize the lunar wastes."[4]

Judged by this criterion, our initial conception of international education was found wanting. It was judged inadequate because it failed to sufficiently highlight or illuminate the "global" nature of the modern world, and because of this failure the conception did not pin-point the particular nature of the educational needs of today's and tomorrow's children. This was a complex argument that assumed many forms, but its general and major elements are as follows.

It has become conventional, indeed somewhat trite, to dub our epoch of history a revolutionary era, but however passé such characterization may be, we were reminded time after time in the course of this study that we must accommodate the fact of change in any serious consideration of the meaning of international education. Chadwick Alger puts the point succinctly. "The world is changing rapidly. How we study the world is also changing rapidly. This sets the context for considering the international education of children and adolescents."[5]

"We are experiencing," observes the historian C. E. Black, "one of the great revolutionary transformations of mankind."[6] He dramatizes, but one suspects does not exaggerate, the magnitude of this transformation in this way:

> The change in human affairs that is now taking place is of a scope and intensity that mankind has experienced on only two previous occasions, and its significance cannot be appreciated except in the context of the entire course of world history. The first revolutionary transformation was the emergence of human beings, about a million years ago, after thousands of years of evolution from primitive life . . . The second great revolutionary transformation in human affairs was that from primitive to civilized societies ....[7]

While not all historians would agree that these two epochal events exhaust the periods of revolutionary transformation in human affairs, most serious students of man's contemporary condition are likely to concede that they serve as useful analogues in our efforts to understand what is happening in the Twentieth Century. For, as Black goes on to note: "The process of change in the modern era is of the same order of magnitude as that from prehuman to human life and from primitive to civilized societies . . ."[8]

With the possible exception of the world's population explosion, the kind of change that receives the most attention and about which we are most familiar is scientific and technological change. Statistics on the exponential growth of scientific and technological innovations have become in recent years as familiar bits of social accounting as are figures on rates of economic growth or the level of crime.[9] That we should be particularly sensitive to the unrelenting flow of contemporary science and technology is as appropriate as it is understandable since these appear to be the primary dynamic or chief sources of socio-cultural change within modern societies. Perhaps educators and social scientists should occasionally pause and, taking a check-list of basic social activities (such as the one outlined by Paul Hanna as a basis for organizing elementary social studies curriculum);[10] note the multiplicity of ways in which each of these activities is being continuously transformed by the labors of scientists and technologists. Such an exercise not only emphasizes the obvious point that particular social activities undergo change as a result of scientific and technological innovations, but also the important fact that these changes interact and ramify their consequences throughout the fabric of society. Not only does change come in particular sectors of social life such as the economy, the polity, or the transportation and communication systems, but added together it results in the transformation of the over-all structure of society.

What is true of particular national and local societies is also true of the world as a whole. Advances in science and technology have multiplied manifold the destructiveness of weapons, radically increased the speed of their delivery systems, augmented the rapidity and scope of transcontinental transportation and communication, magnified rates of human population growth, and increased the volume and range of transactions among national societies, etc. The cumulative impact of these particular changes is a substantial transformation in the social organization of the human species at the global level.

This transformation perhaps is manifest most visibly in the erosion of the boundaries that once separated international and domestic affairs. The late Dr. Martin Luther King is awarded an international peace prize not because he was a diplomat in the relations among nations, but because he was a statesman in the relations of racial and ideological groups within American society. A war in Southeast Asia significantly influences the history of urban areas in the United States. On the other side of the coin, the national conventions of the American political parties are no longer just national affairs but have become events in the international community receiving press attention and TV coverage from London to La Paz. "If ever a line could be drawn between domestic and foreign affairs," writes Senator Fulbright, "it is now wholly erased."[11] This is somewhat of an hyperbole since in some significant respects important distinctions can be made between domestic and foreign affairs,[12] but the observation emphasizes what ought to be emphasized: the fact that

Americans relentlessly interject themselves into the lives of the planet's other inhabitants who, in turn, continuously impinge upon American society.

The changing relationship of the United States to the world beyond our boundaries is often characterized as the decline of American isolation or the revolution in U. S. foreign policy. While such characterizations are accurate taken by themselves, they fail to highlight the fact that America's experience vis-a-vis its world environment is not uniquely American. To the contrary, ours is a common history shared in varying degrees with all of mankind in the twentieth century. If American society has become substantially less isolated from the world around it, the same is also true of virtually all of the national societies that comprise the modern world. Raymond Aron and others speak of the coming of "universal history" signifying the fact that the human species qua species is acquiring a shared history which is more than the sum total of hundreds of common local histories. Robert Harper makes the same point in noting that "throughout most of history, mankind did exist in separate, almost isolated cultural islands . . . now most of humanity is part of a single world-wide system."[13] Raymond Platig illustrates part of what this means in this way:

> Civil disturbances in the Congo and in South Viet Nam have their repercussions in New York, Moscow, and Peking; crop failure in India calls forth a response from the American midwest; nuclear explosive power unites men around the world in the fear of holocaust and the dread of environmental contamination; physical changes on the surface of the sun affect man's ability to communicate with his fellow men; complex sensors located in artificial earth satellites reveal guarded secrets concerning the capabilities of another group; a desert war east of Suez threatens to bring the industrial machinery of Europe to a grinding halt; new ideological notes struck on the taut strings of Balkan societies set up entirely new patterns of harmony and disharmony in world affairs.[14]

In a similar vein, Norman Cousins writes of the emergence of global community noting:

> A new musical comedy erupts into success on Broadway and within a matter of weeks its tunes are heard all the way from London to Johannesburg, as though they had preexisted and were waiting only for a signal from the United States to spring to life. Or a new movie about the Russia of a half-century ago will be made from a book, and all over the world the theme song from Doctor Zhivago will be a request favorite of orchestras in faroff places, from Edmonton to Warsaw.
>
> Few things are more startling to Americans abroad than to see youngsters affect the same unconventionalities in dress and manner, whether in Stockholm Singapore, or Sydney. The young girls with their flashing thighs on Carnaby Street in London or on the Ginza in Tokyo; the young males with their long hair

> and turtleneck sweaters (with or without beads) in Greenwich Village or the Left Bank or Amsterdam or Hong Kong--all seem to have been fashioned by the same stylists of alienation and assertion.
>
> Or a fashion designer in Paris will decide to use spikes instead of heels on women's shoes, and women across the world will wobble with the same precarious gait. Then, almost as suddenly, the designer will decide to bring women back to earth again, flattening the heels and producing square or wide toes that only a few years earlier would have been regarded as acceptable only for heavy work in the fields--and once again the world's women will conform.[15]

The general point they are making is summarized in Barbara Ward's observation that in many respects the world has "become a single human community."

> Most of the energies of our society tend towards unity--the energy of science and technological change, the energy of curiosity and research, of self-interest and economics, the energy--in many ways the most violent of them all--the energy of potential aggression and destruction. We have become neighbors in terms of inescapable physical proximity and instant communication. We are neighbors in economic interest and technological direction. We are neighbors in the risk of total destruction.[16]

Needless to say, no one can forecast with assurance the shape of the future, but it is reasonable to assume that the global human community will continue to manifest a high and very likely expanding degree of interdependence in the decades immediately ahead. (This assumes the absence of world-wide thermonuclear war whose effect on the social organization of the surviving fraction of mankind is very uncertain.) Most observers of world affairs will probably agree with Bruce Russett's assessment of the future world system:

> At this time it is too soon to know just what kind of system will emerge, or even if the situation will, in the near future, stabilize enough for us even to be fully aware that we have a new system. But we do know that it is changing . . . We can be quite sure that it will be a world system in which all peoples will be much more closely involved than ever before . . . . "One world" has a meaning beyond the understanding even of those who lived just a generation ago.[17]

All of this represents, as Kenneth Boulding has observed, a profound innovation in the historic human condition:

> Because of what has happened in the field of technology, especially of transportation and weaponry, in the past

> few decades, the world has become a "spaceship," a small rather crowded globe hurtling through space to an unknown destination and bearing on its surface a very fragile freight of mankind and the "noosphere" which inhabits men's minds.
>
> This represents a very fundamental change in the condition of man, a change which furthermore only a few people have really appreciated. Up till very recently the human race was expanding on what was for all practical purposes an illimitable plane. It may have been "a darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night," as Matthew Arnold called it, but it was for all practical purposes an illimitable, if rough, plane. As long as there was always somewhere to go over the horizon, neither ignorance nor armies nor clashes could be fatal. If one civilization collapsed another one could always rise a few hundred miles away. All history, in other words, until very recently, has been local and has not involved the concept of the "sociosphere" or the total sphere of all human activity extending all around the earth.[18]

Our initial conception of international education would seem to be a minor example of the "unrealized implications" to which Boulding refers. It failed by omission, if not by commission, to highlight the degree to which in the modern era, the world has ceased to be an "illimitable plane" and has become a "spaceship earth." By failing in this, the conception also failed to point up the particular character of the educational needs of the spaceship's younger passengers. We shall try to spell out what we mean.

In studying any phenomena one has a choice of approaches. One can focus upon the whole or one can focus upon the parts that make up the whole. As J. David Singer notes:

> Whether in the physical or social sciences, the observer may choose to focus upon the parts or upon the whole; upon the components or upon the system. He may, for example, choose between the flowers or the garden, the rocks or the quarry, the trees or the forest, the houses or the neighborhood, the cars or the traffic jam, the delinquents or the gang ....[19]

The choice one makes is a function of his purposes. If one's aim is to understand trees as trees, then he need pay little or no attention to whether the particular trees he studies are components of a forest. On the other hand, if one's purpose is to understand forests, then he will also study trees, but in this case they must be viewed and examined as components of the larger whole he seeks to understand.

In the case of international education the issues of "the parts and the whole" was probably pedagogically unimportant, if not downright irrelevant in a time when the world was characterized by many parts but evidenced relatively little "wholeness" compared to what is the case today and is likely to be even more so tomorrow. But the emergence of a "spaceship earth" makes the matter of the whole and the parts of critical importance in our efforts to think about the structure of international education. It is critical because just as an accumulation of knowledge about trees as trees is not equivalent to an understanding of forests, or an aggregation of knowledge about each of the fifty American states does not equal an understanding of American society, *per se*, so an aggregation of knowledge about the parts that make up the world is not equivalent to an understanding of the world as a whole. This means that we confront the hard and complex question of what basic purposes underlie and guide our efforts to educate young humans about the world into which they have been cast. Can the underlying purpose of international education be legitimately restricted to the development of an aggregated fund of knowledge about the different elements that make up the world, or, should our ambitions extend to the development of some understanding of the world perceived as a totality? Clearly, it would seem that education appropriate to the needs of today's and tomorrow's young people must endeavor to develop or cultivate some understanding of the world as a totality, in very much the same sense that studies of American society seek to develop an understanding of American society as a totality rather than simply as an aggregation of parts.

The implications of this concept for the problem of defining international education are, in principle, clear. A definition appropriate to the needs of the time should illuminate the global interconnectedness that characterizes the contemporary world and point up the fact that the form of "international understanding" required by tomorrow's citizen consists of some understanding of the world perceived as a totality or as a whole.

In an effort to develop a conception of international education that was somewhat more consistent with these criteria than our original conception appeared to be, we first turned to the concept of social system.[20] Following the lead of a good deal of recent theory and research in international studies and particularly within the discipline of international relations, we suggested that it might prove useful to think of the world as an international or global social system comprised of a series of interdependent sub-systems. Raymond Platig observes in a recent effort to review international relations research for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that:

> The international social system, like other social systems, may be thought of as a series of interdependent, functional sub-systems; . . . /including the international political system/. Among the other constituent functional sub-systems of the international social system are an economic system, a legal system, an ethnic system, and a scientific system; at a different but overlapping level there can be found an exchange system, a postal system, a public health system, a natural resources system, etc.[21]

By viewing the world in this way we could in turn conceive of international education as education about the international social system viewed as one level of human social organization and as a system comprised of many interrelated sub-systems. Such a conception, we felt, adequately focused attention upon the interdependence characteristic of the modern world and appropriately emphasized the notion of developing a holistic understanding of the world.

In subsequent conversations with educators and social scientists it was soon discovered that this, like our first effort at definition, was subject to serious criticism. Specifically, it was faulty on the grounds that the notion of international education as education about the international or global social system was too narrow in its focus. That is, it omitted references to phenomena which ought to be closely associated with international education, at least in the context of elementary and secondary education. Two points were made, both of which we found persuasive.

First, it was pointed out that the definition failed to make any reference to education about the earth as a planet. For children of the space age, a concern with the planet earth as one planet within the larger cosmic system would seem an important ingredient of their "international" education. Moreover, it argued that man-earth interrelations should be (as they traditionally have been) a significant focus of the schools' concern, and that in the modern world many of the most significant aspects of man-earth relations center on problems in man-biosphere relations that are world-wide in scope, e.g., problems of air, water and soil pollution; the availability of sufficient organic matter to feed the world's burgeoning population; problems in the psychic alienation of man and nature that accompany urbanization; and very likely in the foreseeable future, problems in world-wide, or at least regional, weather control.

Second, it was pointed out that the definition failed to focus explicit attention on education about the human species qua species, and that such a concern ought to be clearly associated with international education, particularly within elementary and secondary schools. It was noted that there is a growing body of research literature suggesting that significant relationships exist between the attitudes individuals develop toward their own and other societies and their images of such phenomena as international conflict and collaboration on the one hand, and on the other hand, the orientation they develop toward man qua man, i.e., what we conventionally think of as one's philosophy of human nature and behavior.[22]

Moreover, it was argued that in the absence of some understanding of basic human behaviors, world affairs instruction may well undermine the very objectives it seeks to realize. Vincent Rogers makes this point very well in writing about international education and the reduction of ethnocentrism. He quotes from a widely used British unit which includes the following description of the life ways of a Sudanese family.

> Siddig's biggest time is during the cotton-sowing period. His children help him as much as possible but Siddig's working day occupies all daylight hours, roughly from 6 AM to 6 PM. He rides out on his donkey, from his neat brick built house in Wad Rawag

> early in the morning and works until about 9 AM when he has a breakfast consisting of Kisr, a thin wafer made of Dura and some well-spiced meat, perhaps washed down by milk or water. The latter has to be taken from the communal well in the village, as the irrigation water is contaminated by the animals. Siddig works until 6 PM, with a short break for a meal, similar to his breakfast, at 2 PM. For his supper he will probably have a stew consisting of meat and vegetables together with Kisr and milk.
>
> In contrast to his busy sowing period, Siddig has a good deal of leisure time from the end of April to the beginning of July. Most of his time then is spent resting on his bed, a wooden frame with interwoven goatskin thongs, or squatting in the shade talking to his friends. They drink tea flavored with milk and very sweet black coffee.

Rogers points out that there may be:

> ...very real dangers in describing a pattern of life so different from one's own without any attention to certain anthropological or sociological understandings. For example, it is important to approach the study of a culture that is strikingly different from one's own with at least some understanding of the fact that most important differences in human behavior can be explained in terms of 'learned' patterns of social behavior, rather than as differences in biological apparatus or other genetically inherited mechanisms.
>
> In other words, without some attention to what might broadly be called the 'cultural concept,' such descriptive facts as 'Siddig spends a good deal of his time resting in his bed' or 'squatting in the shade' can be perceived in an entirely negative way, and the geography program 'reinforces' ethnocentric tendencies rather than counteracting them.[23]

The implications of these criticisms seem clear. A conception of international education to be judged adequate should incorporate within its focus a concern with the earth *qua* planet and the human species *qua* species along with a concern with the international social system *qua* social system.

Summary

Up to this point our inquiry had yielded three results:

A. Our conversations with social scientists and educators, combined with an examination of existing literature, had generated four criteria that various people appeared to feel should be met by a definition of international education for it to be judged adequate to the task of providing a conceptual foundation for future curriculum, research, and teacher training programs in the area.

1. International education ought to be conceived in a way that breaks down sharp distinctions between the study of American society and the study of other societies, and that serves to facilitate the integration of studies of American and non-American societies.

2. Definitions should serve to integrate the collection of traditionally disparate concerns customarily associated with international studies at the university level.

3. Conceptions should highlight the "wholeness," the "systemness," or the "interdependence" that has come to characterize the modern world and the resulting need to seek to develop some understanding of the world perceived as a totality.

4. International education ought to be conceived so as to incorporate a concern with the earth as a planet and a concern with mankind as a species of life, as well as a concern with the international system *per se*.

B. From our efforts had emerged a judgment that the operating conceptions of international education which appeared to influence the curriculum in most schools failed to satisfy these criteria.

C. The third conclusion was that our first two efforts to develop a definition of international education unfortunately fell into the same category. That is, they too failed to provide an adequate conceptual framework in terms of which to consider the problem of planning and developing future programs in international education.

IV. International Education Viewed as Education About Global Society

With these criteria of adequacy and our first two failures in mind, we set out a third time to attack the problem of how we might most fruitfully define international education. By this time it clearly seemed that what was required was a global or perhaps trans-global perspective on the problem. Accordingly, we asked ourselves: How might an anthropologist from an advanced civilization elsewhere in the universe studying the land and the people of the planet Earth view the whole matter of the international education of human beings? How might he look upon the process of international education? With this sort of heuristic fantasy as a prod to imagination and thought, the obvious occurred to us. A child who has learned the conception of apple, orange, blueberries, and grapefruit is able to perceive the world in terms of apples, oranges, and so on, but he cannot think of these as particular elements in a larger whole until he learns the concept of fruit. So it is with the world: we cannot perceive of the world as a totality in the absence of a concept descriptive of that whole. Of the concepts available in the general culture for thinking holistically about interrelated human beings interacting with a physical environment, the concept of society seemed to provide the most expansive, inclusive, and promising mode of thinking of the world as a totality. Moreover, phrases like "world society," "global society," and "planetary society" appear with increasing frequency in the literature of world affairs.[24]

With these considerations in mind, we suggested that international education might fruitfully be viewed as education about international or global society. Casting this notion more broadly and putting it more formally, it was suggested that:

> International education consists of those social experiences and learning processes through which individuals acquire and change their orientations to international or world society and their conception of themselves as members of that society.

The assumptions contained in this definition were elaborated as follows:

> (1) We are suggesting that for purposes of planning future research and development work in international education, it will prove fruitful to posit a planet-wide society as a social reality and to think of individuals as members or participants in that society. Such a conception implies no particular foreign policy commitments or orientations. It simply suggests that for the purposes of understanding human behavior, it has become useful to think of the human species as having reached a point on the scales of interdependence, common values, and shared problems where we can analytically view the planet's population as members of a single, albeit loosely integrated, society.
>
> International society, is of course, a peculiar kind of social reality. Analytically, it is distinguished by its inclusiveness from the world's several thousand national and local societies. Empirically, it is distinguishable from most (but by no means all) sub-planetary societies by its relatively low standing on virtually all conventional scales of societal integration. Nonetheless, world society can be considered one in a species of human societies, placed alongside other members of that species, and viewed from a set of common conceptual perspectives.
>
> (2) The definition suggests that it is fruitful to think of individuals as having

orientation to international society and conceptions of themselves as members of that society. By orientations we mean an individual's cognitive understandings and affective images of the structure and operation of world society as a whole, and of component elements of that society (e.g., groups, processes, events, institutions, etc.). By conceptions of oneself as a member of international society we mean an individual's images of himself in relation to human beings beyond his national group (I am or I am not responsible to them; I am or I am not superior to them, etc.).

(3) The definition assumes that the acquisition of and change in orientations to international society and self-conceptions of membership in that society can be understood as outcomes of an individual's social experiences and the learning that occurs in response to these experiences. That is, international orientations are socially learned patterns of behavior.

(4) The definition presumes that international education in this broad sense occurs throughout the lives of individuals. The process of international education commences before children begin their formal schooling and continues after that schooling is completed.

(5) The definition presumes that during the 12 or 13 years that an individual spends in elementary and secondary schools, a good deal of international education is taking place outside of the school.

Needless to say, the critical and also controversial issue in this formulation is the question of whether one can legitimately think of the way the human species is socially organized at the global level as a society that is analytically comparable to human societies at sub-global levels of human social organization. In a lengthy working paper we endeavored to defend the appropriateness of perceiving the world as a society in the following manner:

> There can be little question that European expansion between the 15th and 20th Centuries, coupled with the simultaneous rise and diffusion of modern science and technology, has bequeathed to our era an international or world-wide social system, but the same history has not provided us with an adequate way of conceptualizing or thinking about this system. We lack the language and the concepts requisite to adequately talking about the world as a whole. If it is recalled that it was many decades after the rise of the European state system that the concept of nationalism developed as a key to describing what had happened, one is skeptical about the prospects of evolving an adequate conceptualization of the modern world before that world is further transformed into a post-modern era, or is

transformed through nuclear warfare into a pre-modern world.

Of the conceptual tools that are currently available for thinking about the nature of the emerging international or social world system, the most promising would seem to be provided by the concept of society. If we look at the modern world as a whole, what we seem to see is a society in an embryonic or primitive state of development, and certainly such a view is reinforced to the degree that we succeed in viewing ourselves from a global or cosmic perspective. Barbara Ward has dramatically caught this in her comparison of the earth to a spaceship. "The most rational way of considering the whole human race today," she writes, "is to see it as the ship's crew on a single spaceship on which all of us, with a remarkable combination of security and vulnerability, are making our pilgrimage through infinity."[25]

In speaking of the world as a society, a few points should be made clear from the very start. In the first place, to call the world a society does not imply that world or global society is empirically identical to human societies at the sub-planetary level. G. P. Murdock has estimated that there are upwards of 5,000 tribal, historic, and now, national societies that are potentially identifiable in the history of mankind.

World society need not empirically resemble any one of these societies. That is to say, if we compare the world conceived as a society to any one of these sub-global societies, we are likely to observe many differences between the two. For example, the world or international political system will not be the same as the political system of a given local society; nor will their economic systems be identical; nor their legal systems; nor their cultural systems; etc. But of course, this is also the case when we compare sub-global societies with one another. In a great many respects the society of the Pueblos is empirically distinguishable from the society of the twentieth century Americans, and American society in turn is distinguishable in many ways from British society, or Soviet society, or Burmese society. The fact that societies are not empirically identical "things" does not preclude us from comparing them with one another. In the jargon of social science the planet's several thousand human societies are all members of a population of analytically comparable entities. This would also seem to be true of world or global society. That is, we can think of world society as one society in this large population of analytically comparable societies. As such, world society can be set beside sub-global societies and the two compared. For example, political scientists, in their efforts to understand international politics, have found it helpful to compare the world political systems to the political systems found in such sub-planetary societies as so-called primitive societies, traditional societies undergoing modernization, and metropolitan areas within the United States.

To view the world as one society among a population of analytically comparable societies may not comport with some of our conventional thinking about the nature of the world, because much of our inherited social theory prompts us to view the world in terms of two ideal types. At the one extreme is the political order characteristic of the nation-state; at the other, the anarchic system of inter-state relations.[26] But, the interesting and also critical issue is: (a) Do our conventional images fail to provide an adequate cognitive map of the structure and functioning of the contemporary international social system? and (b) Does the concept of the world as a society hold the promise of providing a more useful map?

A road map of the United States inherited from the 1940's will not accurately reflect the American highway system of the 1960's. In a period of rapid social and intellectual change, there is a comparable problem in using cognitive maps inherited from another time in making sense out of the social realities of the contemporary world system. Specifically, much of the conventional way of thinking about the world appears to suffer from two kinds of related deficiencies. On the one hand our conventional understanding of the concept of society is excessively limited, and on the other hand, our conventional images of the international system fail to reflect many realities of that system.

Imagine a child whose knowledge of fruit is confined to experience with apples and oranges. Out of this experience the child develops a concept of fruit, but the concept will be limited because his experience with fruit is limited. Exposed for the first time to bananas or pineapples, he is likely to judge them as outside that conceptual class of things he calls fruit. The limited historic experience from which western man has learned his conventional, operating concept of "society" resembles somewhat the case of the child. In large measure this concept of society, as well as our conceptions of relations between and among societies, has been shaped by the experience of that fraction of the species that has lived on the western edge of the Eurasian land mass since the emergence of the territorial state system in the 17th Century. Out of this experience we have come to equate the concept of society with western nation-states. These are societies which, among other things, are characterized by elaborate legal systems, centralized political institutions, and comparatively little internal political violence. Similarly much of our everyday thinking about the nature of interstate relations has been shaped by European, or more broadly, by western diplomatic history, a history characterized by three centuries of increasingly destructive and deadly conflict among nation-states.

The trouble is that the fraction of human experience out of which come our work-a-day, popular conceptions of the nature of societies and of intersocietal relations represents not only a limited sample of the totality of human experience, but also, and perhaps more importantly, a biased sample. In some respects the situation is comparable to taking from a heterogeneous classroom the five most intelligent girls and the five least intelligent boys, and from this concluding that girls are always smarter than boys.

The matter of violence offers a case in point. Everyday thinking tends to associate the absence of political violence with the presence of society and the presence of political violence with the absence of society. This makes sense as long as the area under consideration is confined to the northwestern region of the planet during the last two or three centuries. Undoubtedly, more human beings living in this region during this time have been killed in wars between national groups than have died from political violence internal to these groups. Expanding the sample of human experience to be observed, however, produces a somewhat different picture. One would hardly judge the Congo or Nigeria, or Indonesia, or China to be islands of domestic order located in a sea of international anarchy. Or, take the case of Latin America since the Europeanization of this region: in contrast to Europe and the English-speaking world, very likely more human beings have met their end from violence internal to the Latin American countries than have fallen victims of conflict between these countries.

Consider another example: the matter of the existence of a centralized government, i.e., a state. In current thinking the existence of a society and the presence of a centralized government have become so closely bound together that a centralized government is often assumed to be the prerequisite for a society. Furthermore, so this line of reasoning continues, since the international system is stateless, clearly the world as a whole cannot be called a society. Here is another example of social theory influenced by a limited sample of observations. The Western nation-states are clearly societies with centralized governmental institutions, but it does not logically follow that all human societies must also be states any more than it follows that since some fruit is round in shape, all fruit must be round. Many of the human groups that are conventionally labeled primitive societies are stateless societies, that is, societies without centralized political institutions.[27] But one need not go to exotic lands for examples. For a great many purposes one can think of America's sprawling metropolitan areas as sub-societies within American national society, for clearly they are a more significant kind of social unit than are most of the states. Societies, like those of metropolitan New York or Chicago, are stateless systems. Politically, they are comprised of a large number of legally sovereign governmental units (cities, special districts, counties, unincorporated areas, etc.), whose interrelations are a matter of diplomacy, negotiations, and bargaining not unlike what may be observed in the international arena.

If our everyday operating conception of what a society consists of needs a bit of refurbishing, much the same can be said of the conventional social theory that guides our perceptions of the structure and functioning of the international system.

The contemporary international system is conventionally dated from 1648. The Treaty of Westphalia is taken as the event marking the birth of nation-states as major political forms and hence, the birth date of the contemporary nation-state system. In the course of its evolution over the next several centuries, the nation-state system developed a set of distinctive characteristics. Andrew Scott provides an excellent summary whose combination of brevity and breadth we cannot match, so we quote him at length:

The significant actors in the system were nations. There were few other actors of note, except the Church and an occasional alliance.

The nations that composed this system were, to a very considerable extent, impermeable, self-contained units. The capacity of one nation to reach inside the borders of another nation to influence its people or processes was slight, except for dynastic relationships.

One nation might influence another, but only by means of external pressure. A nation was moved by others as a billiard ball is moved by the impact of other billiard balls. Internally each ball was relatively inviolable.

Relations between actors were, therefore, those of a formal, government-to-government nature.

The consequences of conflict within a nation seldom reached beyond the borders of that nation. The internationalization of internal conflict, that is, was not a common feature of the system.

The powerful nations were located in Western Europe and the system was therefore dominated by events in Europe.

Many areas in the world were politically irrelevant as far as the functioning of the system was concerned. They were irrelevant in the sense that they lacked the capacity to generate system-wide disturbances, except occasionally and indirectly through their impact upon a European nation. They did not have a continuing effect on major decisions within the system. The peoples in these areas were, for the most part, in a dependent or colonial status.

Power was distributed relatively evenly among the major actors in the system. No actor was able to maintain clear predominance for long.

Traditionally, such authority as existed in the international system was associated with the nation-state. Authority reaching across national lines existed only when some powerful nation was able to exert it, save for the Church, of course.

Some of the more powerful nations had reached out and had come to control lands distant from the homeland. A number of colonial systems had developed.

Although dynastic and other differences might divide nations, deep ideological schisms were rare. The relative absence of serious ideological differences made it possible for nations to align and realign themselves as the situation demanded. It was rarely felt that alliance with a particular nation would necessarily be wicked or immoral.

The means for the diffusion of ideologies across national boundaries were limited primarily to books, pamphlets and personal contacts. There was little deliberate diffusion of knowledge and skills throughout the system except in connection with the colonial activities of nations and the small-scale activities of private groups and missionary societies.

Cultural diffusion was slow and limited in its reach. In a few cases something akin to a regional culture might be said to have existed, but the technical means for a wider diffusion of culture were limited.

There was a moderate amount of trade among national actors but examples of a large-scale, one-way, public transfer of resources among the nations were rare.

A set of ideas had come into existence that explained and justified the system. This set of ideas might be called the ideology of the nation-state system.

Because the system revolved around the nation-state, the ideology naturally incorporated doctrines that bolstered the nation-state. These were:

A. National sovereignty
B. Non-intervention
C. National loyalty

Nation-states were the key actors in this system and their functioning was justified by the principle of national sovereignty. The doctrine of national sovereignty taught that each nation, by virtue of being a nation, was a law unto itself and owed obedience to no lawful superior.

This principle, when generalized to all nations, served to justify and perpetuate a system in which it was deemed appropriate for national units to pursue national interests free from binding moral or legal constraints.

The doctrine of non-intervention is a corollary of the doctrine of national sovereignty. If each nation is properly sovereign and a law unto itself, then all efforts by one nation to interfere in the affairs of another nation are clearly improper. If the nation-state was the building block of the international system, it was natural that the system's ideology would emphasize the importance of loyalty to the nation. According to this ideology, the primary political loyalty of the individual was to be given to the nation-state in which he resided. This allegiance would not, of course, stand in the way of an individual's loyalty to monarch, family or friends.

In the event of a conflict between political loyalties, it was assumed that loyalty to the nation would take precedence over all other loyalties. Failure to behave in a loyal way toward one's nation-state was treason, a crime often punishable by death.

It was assumed that there would not be competition among nation-states for the loyalty of the individual. It was also taken for granted that there were no serious competitors on the international scene for the loyalty of individuals, except nation-states.

Loyalty to the nation sometimes provided a substitute focus of attention for societies that were becoming progressively secularized.

These three doctrines were both descriptive and prescriptive. That is, they were useful in describing the functioning of the system and they also prescribed the principles in accordance with which men should behave in such a system.

It was assumed that these principles were 'right' and 'just,' insofar as these terms had any meaning in the context of world polities. It was also assumed that the application of these principles would produce a system that would be relatively orderly and that was, in any case, virtually the only system conceivable.

Whether the national actors in this system were monarchies or republics, the 'public' in each nation rarely played a significant role in the shaping of foreign policy.

For the most part, ideological factors were not a significant influence within the nation-state system. Secular religions capable of generating the fervor of men toward political objectives were rare. The absence of sharp ideological cleavages also tended to limit the objectives of one nation with regard to another. During armed conflict there was little motivation for the enslavement or extermination of the enemy or for the final destruction of another nation.

The techniques available to a nation for the punishment or control of another nation were limited. For this reason, also, defeat in a war seldom meant enslavement or national ruin.

'Power' was thought to involve primarily physical force. Other sources of influence were few in number and relatively insignificant whether nations were engaged in collaboration or conflict.

Because relations among nations were on a formal, government-to-government basis, the techniques of state-craft available to individual national actors were limited to those associated with formal interaction.

Because relations among nations were almost exclusively formal, the level of interaction in the system was necessarily limited.

The tempo of scientific and technological advance, though accelerating, remained moderate by contemporary standards.

Conflicts of interest in this system might be settled by means of negotiation among interested parties. There were no special institutions concerned with the solving of problems, however, and with the legitimation of political change.

If disputes could not be settled amicably, war was both a normal and a respectable means of settlement.

The essential nature of this system--proud, independent nations, acknowledging no command as superior to their own wants, with war as the

> ultimate arbiter of all differences--militated against prolonged peace.
>
> War and peace were regarded as clearly identifiable conditions in the relations among nations. War was war and peace was peace and the differences between the two were clear-cut.
>
> The categories of war and peace were thought to exhaust the possible relations among nations. If nations were not at war, then they had to be at peace, and *vice versa*.
>
> A number of characteristics of armed conflict among nations were widely taken for granted.
>
> A. The capacity for surprise attack was limited.
> B. The initial blows struck against an enemy would not do catastrophic damage to the enemy nor crush its capacity to strike back or to continue the struggle.
> C. When attacked, a nation usually had sufficient time to organize its defenses, militarily and politically.
> D. The tempo of conflict was moderate.
> E. Military weapons and skills seldom took major leaps forward. If the offense scored an advantage it was likely to be temporary, for the defense was presumed to be always capable of catching up with the offense.
> F. The more military power a nation had, the greater was the security of that nation.
> G. Although the ravages of war were acknowledged to be dreadful by all parties, they were not so dreadful that ambitious nations ruled out the possibility of war as a deliberate instrument of national policy.
>
> Because the destructive capacity of war fell within acceptable limits, there was no need for the elaboration of doctrines of limited war.[28]

Much of our everyday thinking about international relations would seem to be influenced by culturally inherited social theory grounded in the classical or traditional system just described. The nation-state system of the last half of the twentieth century however, is in many respects a very different kind of social reality. Every characteristic that defined the traditional system has undergone change. Scott also summarized very well these changes, and so again we quote him at length.

> New kinds of actors have developed and have come to play roles of importance in world politics.
>
> Through most of the history of the nation-state system, few nongovernmental transnational organizations have had an impact upon international affairs. Now, however, the number of organizations is substantial--The Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, CARE, the Red Cross, and so on.
>
> The supranational organization is a new type of actor on the world scene. The first example of this type did not come into existence until the treaty creating the European Coal and Steel Community went into force in 1952.
>
> Of great importance has been the development of international organizations, which began at the end of World War I. These organizations have become far more numerous since World War II, and their functions have grown rapidly.
>
> International organizations now have a powerful impact upon the functioning of the international system. The United Nations, for example, is a revolutionary force in the world in a number of ways.
>
> International organizations sometimes have great influence over the functioning of a nation and may even undertake operational activities within a nation, as the UN did in the Congo.
>
> This proliferation represents men's efforts to reach out for new organizational forms to cope with a variety of pressing problems. Taken together, these organizations have created important new problem-solving capabilities in the international system.
>
> Two generations ago, when an opportunity emerged or a problem developed, men turned to the nation-states because there was no other alternative. Now, almost as automatically, men assess situations with an eye to the utilization of international organizations. If an appropriate international agency does not exist, a new one may be created.
>
> Nation-states no longer provide the only source of authority in the nation-state system. International organizations and regional groupings, by their existence and their actions, provide new forms of authority. Under some conditions these newer

forms of authority may conflict with authority deriving from nation-states.

The hitherto impermeable nation-state is sometimes penetrated by the activities of international organizations. It is frequently penetrated by the activities of other nation-states. In fact, though not in theory, a great many nation-states are now highly porous.

The assumptions on which the theory of the nineteenth century nation-state system were based were products of an era in which the level of intercommunication and interaction among national actors was low. Under those circumstances, the concept of national sovereignty and the idea of the self-contained, impermeable nation-state had some justification.

Nations today are not sovereign, in the meaningful sense of that term, are not self-contained, and are not impermeable. This statement is true for all nations but is startlingly apparent in the case of the newer 'incubator' nations, which need assistance almost from the moment of their birth.

Relations among nations are no longer confined, for all practical purposes, to those involving formal, government-to-government contacts.

The ability of one nation (or of an international organization) to reach inside another nation is important not only to those nations but to the international system as a whole. Influence in the system is no longer confined to external influence. Nations can now seek to use both external and internal influence in the pursuit of their objectives.

The development of internal influence has fostered the development of a wide variety of new techniques of state-craft. These techniques include economic aid, technical assistance, military aid, information activities, cultural exchange, economic warfare, covert political warfare, and so on. The relative importance of traditional diplomacy has necessarily declined with the emergency of the newer forms of statecraft.

The range of possible relationships among actors in the system has increased greatly with the use of techniques of internal influence and informal penetration.

The level of interaction among nations has risen as a consequence of the development of informal penetration and other factors. This change could not fail to have an impact upon the functioning of the international system.

The internationalization of internal conflict has become far more common than it was before the twentieth century. Nations are often interested in conflict within other nations and seek to influence it. The Russian Revolution, the Spanish Civil War and the Chinese Revolution are among the more spectacular examples.

There have been notable shifts in the distribution of power in the international system since the nineteenth century. The nation-state system had its origins in Western Europe, but the relative power of leading European nations, including Great Britain, has undergone a sharp and substantial decline. Colonial empires associated with these nations have dissolved.

Actors not located in Western Europe, such as the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China have emerged as important new power centers. For fifteen years after World War II international politics was organized on a bipolar basis--neither of the major power centers was European.

If many geographical areas were once politically irrelevant, now scarcely any area may be said to be so. Scarcely any area is so insulated from the rest of the system that it is incapable of generating system-wide disturbances. Time and again, in the last two decades, troubles have developed in lands far removed from the established power centers. In the end these troubles have made heavy demands upon the time and attention of the great powers and have been the focus of prolonged discussion in the United Nations. For all practical purposes, the geographical extent of the international system is now world-wide.

Power and influence are now less often thought of primarily in terms of physical force. A variety of other sources of influence are now recognizable. Actors that are not 'powerful,' in the traditional sense of that term, may yet wield a good deal of influence.

The physical attributes of 'power' are, nevertheless, probably more concentrated than they were during the earlier period. The gap between the resources available to the super-powers and to the smaller nations is enormous. A powerful nation may be able to assist in the reconstruction of a continent, extend aid to a large number of nations, and influence events, in many parts of the world.

Since World War II the implications latent in the principle of the self-determination of peoples have become obvious. The number of nations has more than doubled.

The development of the nation-state, which started in Western Europe, has spread over the globe. Virtually every part of the world is now organized on the basis of nation-states.

In the relatively short period since the beginning of World War II, the established colonial systems, based in Western Europe, have been dismantled. The breakup of these systems and the emergence of the new nations are, of course, associated processes.

The new nations are emerging into a world in which nationhood is very different from what it was before the turn of the century.

For a variety of reasons the role of public opinion has come to have a greater bearing on foreign policy matters in many countries than it did in the nineteenth century or even the early twentieth century. The 'public' (or the publics) has therefore come to be a more significant target than it once was for decision-makers within the nation and outside the nation.

In the twentieth century ideological doctrines with a demonstrated capacity to generate evangelical fervor and political action have emerged.

These ideologies, when associated with active political movements, and when propagated by means of the techniques of informal access, have demonstrated a capacity to reach across national boundaries.

Because of the fervor they can generate, and the concrete programs with which they may be associated, these ideologies have sometimes divided nations and peoples from one another quite sharply. In addition, they may contain virulent elements that deny humanity and worth to the enemy and that may therefore be used to justify unrestrained policies.

The development of sharp ideological cleavages hinders, although it does not necessarily prevent, the relatively easy alignment and realignment of national actors characteristic of the nineteenth century.

In the past two decades organized, large-scale efforts directed toward the diffusion of knowledge and a variety of skills throughout major portions of the international system have developed.

Programs of technical assistance, training and education have been established both by individual nations and by international organizations.

This educational effort on the present scale is without historical precedent during the history of the nation-state system.

The transfer of resources from one actor in the international system to another, in the form of foreign aid of some kind was massive during World War II and has continued at a high level since then.*

This transfer has been engaged in by international organizations, regional groupings, and individual nation-states. The United States alone has transferred goods and services valued at more than $100 billions since the end of World War II. The volume of this aid, from all sources, is without historic parallel.

Key doctrines associated with the nation-state system, such as those of national sovereignty, non-intervention, and national loyalty, have been undermined in important ways.

The doctrine of national sovereignty ill accords with the realities of an international system characterized by:

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*This type of resource transfer is to be distinguished from both trade and from private investment. There have been large flows of private capital during earlier periods. British investors, for example, during a span of several generations, invested on a large scale in many countries, including the United States. The purpose of this investment was private profit, however, and not the systematic development of underdeveloped nations or the acquisition of political and economic influence.

A. Political interdependence
B. Economic interdependence
C. Military interdependence
D. The military vulnerability of individual actors
E. Vast disparities in the power and influence wielded by actors
F. Extensive informal access

This doctrine is an important source of intellectual confusion and sometimes leads observers to mistake a legal fiction for political reality.

The doctrine of non-intervention is equally out of accord with contemporary reality. It was fashioned for a world in which nations were set apart in space and did not interact significantly; a world in which there were no countries so much more powerful than others that they 'intervened' simply by being and acting; a world that had not yet discovered the potentialities residing in the systematic and large-scale use of the techniques of informal penetration. The doctrine of non-intervention was designed, in short, for a world that has ceased to exist.

Because of the capacity of some ideologies to influence the thinking and behavior of persons across national boundaries, men are exposed to ideological appeals in a way that was uncommon in an earlier period, though not, of course, unknown.

Exposure to an alternate or competing ideology will sometimes challenge the loyalty of the individual to his nation.

Established ideologies and some new ideologies have demonstrated a capacity to compete, sometimes quite successfully, in the same arena with nationalist ideologies. The transnational appeal of communism, under certain circumstances, is one example; and the ideology of the movement for European integration is a second.

Once serious ideological competition has developed, the nation-state in which an individual resides can no longer assume that it, and no other political entity, will automatically be the focus of the individual's loyalty. The history of World War II and of the decades since has made it clear that an individual will sometimes give his primary loyalty to other entities--nations, political movement, supranational organizations, international organizations--rather than to his own nation.

The techniques available to one nation for the control of another are many and varied. If the controlling nation is prepared to be ruthless in its behavior, these techniques can be quite effective. The desire to control and exploit other nations is now reinforced by the technical capacity to do so. In addition, when a nation has gained control of another it may be able to sustain this position indefinitely. The Soviet Union, for example, developed the art of satellitization to a high level. However, strains may remain and the control mechanisms may sometimes malfunction or break down altogether.

The tempo of technological innovation relevant to the international system has increased sharply. Instead of one innovation coming on the heels of another, innovations are now likely to come in clusters. Thus, the international system is confronted with the task of adjusting to the implications of a half-dozen significant innovations simultaneously. These may come in the areas of communications, transportation, weaponry, agriculture, and so on.

Machinery now exists in the international system for dealing with disputes and conflicts of interest. The machinery is rudimentary and is incapable of supporting all of the burdens placed upon it, but the very existence of institutions designed to effect and to legitimate political change is significant.

With the advent of limited war and measures for informal attack, war and peace are no longer viewed as completely separate and distinct.

A wide range of conflict techniques has emerged to fill in the great gap between all-out war, on the one hand, and frictionless peace, on the other. It is now perceived that there are many forms of conflict and many forms of collaboration.

Reflective observers can no longer assume that when nations are at war there must be a total conflict of interest between them, or that when nations are at peace there can be no significant conflicts of interest. It is understood that nations at peace may nevertheless have significant conflicts of interest, whereas those at war may also share significant common interests. To be sure, not all decision-makers are reflective.

Many important characteristics of armed conflict during the nineteenth century have been altered by events.

A. The capacity for surprise attack is now impressive. Warning time may be minutes, seconds or even zero time.
B. Initial blows that one nation can now direct toward another may be catastrophic.
C. If full-scale warfare begins among the major powers, the nation attacked will have little time to ready its military and political defenses.
D. The tempo of the conflict, once begun, may be extremely rapid.
E. The rate of innovation in weaponry is very high, and new developments are often of the utmost importance.
F. National security can no longer be assumed to improve with each increase in the military power of a nation.
G. The destructive capabilities of the major nations are staggering. Because of the damage that can be done to a nation in the event of all-out war, and because of the danger that a small conflict might escalate into a large conflict, gains/cost calculations relating to war have been radically altered. As the probable costs of wars rise, the circumstances that would justify a nation in resorting to full-scale war are harder to find.

If decision-makers are to behave rationally, they must view the precipitation of full-scale war in a very different context from that in which it has customarily been viewed.

If the calculations of the potential aggressor have been modified, so have those of potential victims. If a potential aggressor must move carefully lest it precipitate an all-out war, a potential victim will be aware of the aggressor's concern. The threats of the aggressor may therefore be less terrifying than they otherwise would be.

To the extent that the coercive capacity of military power is weakened, the functioning of the

> nation-state system is altered and relations among nations are changed.
>
> Because warfare has traditionally been an important means of settling disputes among nation-states, any alteration of this function is certain to affect the working of the nation-state system.
>
> Given the likelihood that armed conflict among national actors will continue, and given the destructive nature of full-scale warfare among the great powers, those powers have a common interest in finding a way to limit warfare.
>
> It is not surprising, therefore, that doctrines of limited warfare are in the process of emerging. The more powerful nations are learning that it may be sensible, in some circumstances, to wage war against an enemy--but on a limited basis.[29]

If one can escape from the limitations imposed by an inherited body of social theory he can then go on to ask if there are empirical warrants for treating the emerging global social system as a society. An examination of the world as a whole at any point in time reveals two contrary forces of change at work: on the one hand, forces of integration, and on the other hand, forces of disintegration. Those who are psychologically or philosophically predisposed toward the latter view may well conclude that there is little evidence to warrant thinking of the world as a society. Those, on the other hand, who tend to see only unifying themes in the tapestry of human affairs are likely to be led beyond the modest claim that mankind has become a species united in a single society to the more expanded notion of mankind as a single family. Of course, neither of these perspectives is adequate. The point is not that there exists side by side evidence of unity and disunity--this has been true of all history. The interesting and also critical question concerns the ratio existing between forces of integration and of disunity. A bit of history in which there is one element of unity for every nine elements of disunity is quite different from a bit of history in which the ratio is four to ten.

The contemporary observer regarding the modern world in this way, and looking backward over the long sea of man's development, might reasonably conclude that the forces that divide the human species have neither appreciably increased or decreased in the modern era. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that integrative forces have expanded in number and scale. What are these? They would seem to include the following:

1. A rapidly developing worldwide system of human interaction.

Historians debate the relative autonomy vs. the relative interdependence of the twenty odd classical civilizations that can be identified in the history of mankind, but there can be little debate about the character of the modern world relative to prior historical epochs. Local and regional systems of interaction have come to significantly interpenetrate each other with the resulting emergence of a globalized system of human interaction.[30]

2. An expanding network of cross-national organizations and associations.

In our time the globe has been encircled by an expanding grid of organizations and groups cutting across the boundaries of national systems. Among these are hundreds of organizations that link national governments to national governments, as well as hundreds of nongovernmental organizations and groups reflecting religious, fraternal, scientific, business, artistic and humanitarian interests that cannot be bounded by the geography of the nation-state system. Just how important some of these cross-cutting institutions are in the social fabric of global society can be sensed by looking at large international business enterprises, many of which have budgets far in excess of the budgets of most of the world's nation-states.[31]

3. Increasing similarity in mankind's social institutions.

The range of diversity in mankind's social institutions, particularly in the arenas of politics and economics, appears to be narrowing. This would seem to be particularly true within the economically and politically developed regions of the planet. Modern technology harnessed to large and complex social structures seems to carry its own organizational imperatives, which are partially immune to the influence of ideology. Thus, advanced, large-scale, mass societies, such as the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and most European countries, while continuing to reflect the influence of their own peculiar histories and ideologies, are beginning to have increasingly similar social systems.[32]

4. An expanding homogeneity of culture.

The human species has always possessed a core of cultural similarity surrounded by a much larger area of cultural diversity. Today globalized communication and transportation are in the process of gradually and unevenly erasing many culturally defined differences, and in so doing gradually expanding the core of common human culture. Perhaps a more accurate way of putting this is to say that these forces are creating, at a global level, a pool of values and world-views from which all people can draw. Global commonalities in the subculture of the world's teenagers is one example that will come to the mind of the educator. This, of course, is but an illustration; an example of a larger phenomenon.

To date, this global pool of cultural forms has been fed mostly by Western ideas, largely for the simple reason that Europeans dominated the planet at the same point in time that modern science and technology emerged as significant elements in the life of mankind. But before the century is over, it may well become clear that cultural diffusion is a two-way street, bringing Eastern culture to the West as much as western culture is currently penetrating the East. For example, while many Americans find the sources of life's meaning in the middle class status they occupy in an affluent society, there is good reason to believe that an increasing number of young people in the West are seriously beginning to seek answers to the question: "Beyond affluence, what?" In an age of global communication there is no reason to assume that these young people will confine their search for answers to within the boundaries of Western civilization.

5. Internationalization of social problems.

The growing interconnectedness of peoples has among its consequences the internationalization of many aspects of man's ageless problems of survival. The pollution of air and water, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the plundering of the planet's mineral resources are only a few of the problems that cannot be tackled effectively, much less solved, by unilateral measures of nation-states. International cooperation has become necessary in almost every facet of the species' social life, including the areas of education reform, the promotion of new sources of food supply, the stimulation of technological growth, the acceleration of economic development, and the dissemination of new medical knowledge.

Expanding interaction at the global levels; expanding numbers and varieties of cross-national social structures; a gradually receding heterogeneity of social institutions and gradually increasing cultural homogeneity; the internationalization of many social problems --these are among the important indicators that seem to warrant the claim that one can legitimately think of the world as a single society comprised of a large number of national and local societies.

Criticisms of the Definition

The reactions of educators and social scientists with whom we explored the idea of viewing international education as education about global or international society were both mixed and varied. The formulation was clearly appealing to some, and they saw it as providing a promising conceptual framework to approach the tasks of planning and developing future curriculum, research, and teacher training programs in the field of international education.

On the other hand, there were others who were "turned off" or at least "tuned out" by the formulation. Objections or objectors to this view of international education appeared to fall into four general categories.

First, there were a few individuals who found the concept of global society an emotionally uncomfortable idea. For all of us ethnocentrism in one or more of its various forms serves important psychological needs, but apparently there are some for whom an ethnocentric perspective on the world is a particularly important ingredient of their self-identity. Needless to say, objections to the notion of international education as education about global society which are generated by an emotional rejection of the central concept cannot be countered by rational argument.

Second, some people argued that the definition is simply a codified version of a sentimental "one-worldism". To apply the term "society" to the world as a whole is inaccurate, it was argued, since the world as a whole does not possess the defining characteristics of a society. One might want to talk about international or global society in some poetic context where words are permitted to assume strange meanings, or one might want to use such terms when speculating about the possible social organization of the human species at some future time, but the notion of the world as a society is not to be taken as descriptive of the current world and certainly should not be seriously considered as a core concept in the planning and development of future programs in international education.

Two things can be said about this argument. One is that "the state of being a society" is not like the "state of being a male" where presumably an individual either is or is not. The concept of society is a very complex notion that abstracts many features or characteristics of the world as it is experienced. The world viewed as a single entity can display some "society-like" characteristics and not evidence others. It is much like the concept of "nation" applied to an entity such as the Congo. In some respects the Congo is a nation and in other respects it is at best a kind of proto-nation, or nation-in-the-making. Or closer to home, can one point to a day in a year when the colonists ceased to be a collection of scattered Europeans and became an "American society"?

Also, as we observed earlier, our conventional operating notion of what a society is and is not perhaps is somewhat restrictive and culture bound. It would seem we need a more expansive concept even to take into account the full range of diversity in social structure especially observable among the some 3,000 sub-global human societies about which we know something; and perhaps within the context of an expanded conception of society, the perception of the world as a global society would seem less alien.

Third, it was sometimes argued that the notion of the world as a society is of no pedagogical utility because, for one thing, it is too abstract a concept for children or adolescents to grasp. Whether Bruner is right or wrong about the ability of children to understand anything presented in ways appropriate to their level of conceptual development, it remains an open possibility that the world viewed as a society is not more and perhaps even less abstract and remote to many of today's children than was, let us say, the Roman Empire to us when our exposure to that society consisted of a few words in a textbook, supplemented, perhaps, by a photo of the Colosseum taken in 1907 or a drawing depicting the assassination of Julius Caesar.

But it was also asked, "Even if it were possible to communicate the idea of global society to children and young people, why try? There may be a couple of good reasons. For one thing, the image of the world as a global society seems to capture several facets of the reality of man's contemporary condition; thus there may be a value in trying "to tell it like it is" in educating the young. But the potential utility of the idea seems to go beyond this.

We are beginning to realize that much of human thinking is comparative, although the act of comparison occurs sub-consciously most of the time. By making this process explicit, that is, by doing comparative analysis (which seems to be essentially a matter of asking the same basic questions of different phenomena, obtaining comparable answers, and then noting and analyzing similarities and differences), we are able to enhance the conceptual dimension of human thought. Partly for this reason comparative analysis has become an important ingredient of the so-called "new social studies." Much of the comparative analysis that is done in both schools and universities is "within levels of comparison"; that is, we compare nations with nations; family systems with family systems; forms of poetry with forms of poetry; and the like. But we can and do make comparisons "across levels" of human social organization as well. Thus by conceptualizing the world as a global society one can compare this society (or various aspects of it) with one or more of the some 3,000 primitive, historic, and now national societies about which some information is available. For example, political scientists have found it fruitful to compare the world political and legal systems with those found in some primitive societies, in some of the developing nations, or in some American metropolitan areas.[33]

Should this sound highly esoteric and something confined to university scholars working on the frontiers of their disciplines, it should be noted that the making of "international/sub-international" comparisons is done by everyone, albeit usually in an implicit way. For example, much of a child's conception of conflict among nations seems to be in the form of projections from what he has learned about human conflict at the inter-personal level. These projections are in effect comparisons of different people's conflict behavior. Unfortunately, many comparisons implicitly made across levels of human social organization are wrong. A person will believe there are significant differences when in reality there are none, or he will believe there are no differences when in reality there are some. By making comparisons explicit, i.e., bringing them out into the open where they can be examined, one is able to avoid at least some error in his images of the world.

Fourth, there were a number of people for whom the notion of international education as education about international society was emotionally appealing and intellectually attractive, but who questioned the political prudence of formulating or articulating the idea in this particular form, since any serious talk about world society is likely to stimulate a good deal of opposition. Kenneth Boulding has described the general problem very well:

> Any attempt to introduce what might be called a spaceship-earth education will be regarded with extreme suspicion. Wherever the curriculum of formal education impinges on images of the world which the local culture around it treasures, sensitive areas are set up which are avoided as far as possible. Religion, race, and nationalism,...are among these areas; and the study of the international system almost inevitably impinges on all of them. It is not surprising, therefore, that international education tends to follow the innocuous patterns of interesting stories about strange children, and any attempt to teach the international system as a total system might easily run into very serious criticism for the defenders of the local culture. This is precisely because what might be called international systems education, to distinguish it from the more innocuous brands, deliberately sets out to destroy the illusions of perspective and to point out that things at a distance are not really small, still less are they unimportant. We can still, however, concede a great deal of realism in the proposition that the near are dear. Moral perspectives of this kind are not only realistic but are not incompatible with the systems point of view.
>
> Those engaged in formal education, therefore, are always walking an uneasy tightrope. On the one hand, it is easy for them to violate the sensibilities of the older generation, especially those in the folk culture, who, after all, largely pay their salaries. On the other hand, the educator who does not "tell it like it is" is in great danger of being found out if the image of the world which he is propagating to his students does not correspond to what they are going to discover in their subsequent life experience. If a student finds that teachers have deceived him and have taught him things that are not so, the whole sacredness, prestige and legitimacy of the teaching profession is threatened....If our children find out that their teachers are liars, or at least superstitious and gravely in error, the consequences to the whole socialization process and the very fabric of society

> itself could be disastrous. Some of the current revolt of youth, especially of students, may very well be related to the fact that the pablum which they get in primary and secondary schools is so unrelated to the realities of the world today that it proves indigestible.[34]

In our judgment, this constitutes the most persuasive of the arguments advanced against the idea of explicitly defining international education as education about global or international society. What is needed, it would seem, is a more emotionally neutral formulation of the basic ideas that inhere in the concept of the world as a global society.

V. International Education Viewed as Education About the World System

As suggested above, the notion of "global society" was selected from the repertoire of possible terms available in the general culture for three major reasons. We sought a term that was suggestive of the historically unprecedented degree of interdependence that characterizes the modern world. We also desired a term that would link a concern with the phenomena of the earth as a planet, and mankind as a species of life, with an interest in the global social organization of mankind. Finally, we sought a term that is traditionally associated with a holistic understanding of a group of interdependent individuals and groups occupying a given physical environment with which they interrelate. We saw in "society" a term familiar to all of us and in the notion of global or world society a concept that served these three needs.

Fortunately, there appears to be an alternative formulation to the notion of the world as a global society that serves these ends just as well, and perhaps better, while at the same time being emotionally less connotative and hence politically less controversial. This is the concept of "system". A system broadly and minimally defined is any set of interrelated elements.

Thus we commonly call a thermostat, furnace, and mechanisms of heat transfer a heating system indicating that these three elements are functionally interrelated with one another. Or we speak of a network of inter-connected roads as a highway system, or more broadly, we refer to the totality of a society's inter-connected technologies and resources for transmitting things and people through space as its transportation system.

Earlier we made extensive reference to the fact that, in the sense just defined, the human species _qua_ species is acquiring an increasing degree of "systemness," and said that the notion of an international or global social system provides a useful concept in terms of which to think about the social organization of the species at a global level. But clearly "systemness" is not simply a characteristic of man-to-man relationships. It is also a property of the human species' interrelation with the larger biosphere, and also a property of the biosphere's interrelationship with its physical environment. Moreover, this total earth system is from a cosmic perspective a sub-system within the larger cosmic system which very likely includes countless sub-systems analytically comparable to the earth system.

Thus, it would seem that the concept of world system communicates the kind of perspective we sought to suggest by the term world or global society and does so without the unfortunate side-effects generated by the latter term. If so, then it might be useful to think of international education as education about the world system. Kenneth Boulding briefly describes one version of this general idea:

> My thesis is that the principal task of education in this day is to convey from one generation to the next a rich image of what I call the "total earth." The universe we can leave for the next generation but for this generation the prime task is to convey the idea of the earth as a total system. This is an idea around which one can organize a whole educational process, not only in the social sciences, but in all the other sciences and the arts and the humanities as well.
>
> We start with the concept of the earth as a series of approximately concentric spheres, such as the lithosphere, the hydrosphere, the atmosphere and the biosphere. Finally we have what I have been calling the sociosphere, or the anthroposphere, which is the sphere of man and all his activities. In our day the sociosphere is becoming increasingly dominant over the others. Thanks to it the evolution of the elements is now continuing where it seems to have left off four or six billion years ago. The sociosphere is beginning to affect the biosphere very rapidly and it will be surprising if in the next generation man does not get his busy little fingers into the business of genetic evolution.[35]

The notion of international education as education about the world system appears to meet the criteria previously outlined. Moreover, it has another characteristic which many people deemed an important criterion in defining international education: Namely, congruence with major current and projected intellectual trends within the behavioral sciences.

As noted previously, not only is the world changing rapidly, but the way the world is studied is also changing rapidly. Fred Sondermann writing in the 1968 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies briefly summarizes some recent trends within international studies. Looking at the present state of the field, he notes:

> ... we find new and more programs, new and more personnel, new and more media of communication. All these resulted in, and reflected, the rapid proliferation of international studies which has been the hallmark of

the last ten to fifteen years. George Liska has referred to the period 1955-1965 as "the heroic decade" of international studies. It may be debated whether it was indeed heroic; it cannot be denied that it was, and is, exciting. Only a few highlights of some of the new approaches can be dealt with here. The list is not all-inclusive, and the various approaches are not discussed in detail. All that is intended is to provide a partial inventory and to indicate something of the variety of interests and approaches which presently permeate the field. Some of the new departures are, in any event, covered in more detail in other portions of this book. The many new ideas, suggestions, and proposals have made the recent study of international relations an exciting, and at the same time a difficult and often frustrating, experience.

An early entry into the list of new approaches was the suggestion, made by Professor Richard Snyder and others, to study international relations by studying the decision-making process. In the original work, *Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics*, Snyder and his colleagues deplored the chaotic state of the field of international studies and insisted on the necessity for a central focus. Their suggested focus takes into account new work that is currently taking place in such related fields as communications, social psychology, management and organization studies. The scheme they proposed was enormously complex, which probably accounts for the fact that so little follow-up work has been done on it. It raised many questions. One of these was whether one can, in fact, grasp the totality of international relations by looking at them from the vantage point of national decision-making processes alone. The present writer once put this, rather inelegantly, by asking whether at any given time the field of international relations is only the product of the actions of states and statesmen, or whether perhaps the actions of states and statesmen are affected by the field of international relations. The question is from what point of view or what level the reality of life which we call "international relations" can best be understood.

Another emphasis which gained ground in the 1950's was the so-called area-studies approach. This approach concentrates on a single country or area and studies it in depth, not only in terms of its domestic and international politics, but also in terms of its geography, social structure, economy, culture and language. Area study programs have proliferated at American universities. Exciting new concepts for the study of foreign societies have been developed by anthropologists and social psychologists, among others. Understandably enough, particular emphasis is placed on areas which previously tended to be terra incognita for American students--that is to say, the newly emerged countries, most of which are politically and economically underdeveloped. Thus, African and Asian area study programs receive a great deal of effort and attention.

Third in this partial inventory of recent developments in international relations is the movement which is frequently referred to as "behavioralism." This is a catch-all term, relating the study of international relations to movements that have occurred simultaneously in a number of other disciplines. Its meaning is not totally clear. It refers to at least two, and possibly more, fairly distinct trends. The first of these is the attempt to relate findings from psychology, sociology, social psychology, and even psychiatry to the study of relevant aspects of international relations. Examples of this trend are works such as Alexander and Juliette George's Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House or Lewis J. Edinger's more recent Kurt Schumacher. These books, and others like them, explicitly borrow concepts and categories from psychology and psychiatry to explain the behavior patterns of important political actors.

A second meaning of "behavioralism," which is probably more widely accepted than the first, involves the attempt to make the study of international relations "scientific" in the sense of using clear and replicable research procedures, and studying issues capable of precise measurement. What is involved in "behavioralism," however, is surely more than methodology, however important new methods may be; it is, in essence, a receptivity to new ideas, concepts, and findings from other disciplines. David Singer has put this as strongly as anyone: "A treasure chest of ideas... lies ready at hand in the behavioral science literature," he argues, "and the international relations specialist can profit by developing the skills and awareness that will enable him to integrate these ideas with his own work."

As with other trends in the study of international relations, this one has given rise to lively controversies. On the one hand, proponents of "behavioralism" argue that unless the international relations scholar develops precise measurements, sophisticated research designs, and replicable studies he simply cannot be confident of the validity of the points he is trying to establish. The other side claims that in reducing a topic with as many variables and complexities as international relations to simple research designs, the researcher departs from reality to such a degree that he cannot help but reduce the validity of his findings.

Three other examples of some new approaches, and of the controversies to which they have given rise, are (a) the application of game theory, (b) the use of simulation techniques, and (c) the use of content analysis in international studies.

In the first instance, a form of analysis taken over from mathematics and economics is applied to the study of decision-making situations.

In the second example, attempts are made to reproduce significant segments of international reality in a laboratory situation in order to extract possible meaningful patterns from the behavior of participants in the experiments. (It should be added that simulation techniques are often employed not to add to international relations theory, but simply as a pedagogical tool to convey some of the realities of politics to participants in a way which no lecture, discussion, or book can ever do.) Those who defend the application of simulations argue that despite the admitted variations between games or simulations and international reality, there are enough underlying similarities to justify the use of a simplified approach for learning about reality. Those who question these techniques caution against too great a reliance on such methods and procedures, and maintain that international reality is too complex to permit this type of experimental simplification.

Content analysis focuses on the close examination of political messages, not so much in terms of their content, as in terms of their frequency and of the use of key words or phrases which are used as indicators of levels of tension or cooperation in a given international situation. The approach has been used primarily in the study of conflict and crisis situations and has yielded some findings which evidence considerable regularities in the behavior of important actors in such situations.

Finally, a theoretical framework which has commended itself to an increasing number of international relations students (and within which any of the foregoing methods, along with others, can be employed) is that generally referred to as "systems theory." It is not easy to outline its basic properties and implications in a limited space. Basically, a "system" presupposes that all actions in a given realm are functionally related to one another; that they can be understood only in terms of their relationship to the whole, broader system of which they form a part. Any system has to behave in particular ways and perform particular tasks in order to exist in its specific environment. One of

> the simpler definitions of a system is that of Professor Rosenau: "A system is considered to exist in an environment and to be composed of parts which, through interaction, are in relation to each other."[36]

Given the fact that international studies and, more generally, the behavioral sciences are in a state of ferment and flux, it is impossible to predict with any certainty what trends will characterize the future development of the behavioral sciences in the years ahead. However, it seems a reasonable bet to assume that systems theory will continue to figure very prominently in the efforts of behavioral scientists to understand man and his world. A number of observers of current intellectual history, within the behavioral sciences argue, as Sondermann notes:

> ...that systems theory bids well to become the unifying focus in the study of all human phenomena, including those which fall in the realm of international relationships. Systems theory seems to be developing in a number of the social and natural sciences, and some predict that the coming convergence of these fields will result in a broad conceptual framework from which a new world view of man will emerge.[37]

This does not seem to be simply groundless speculation inasmuch as general systems theory, or perhaps more accurately, the general systems approach to the study of physical, biological, and sociocultural phenomena, represents a significant departure from western man's traditional modes of perceiving and interpreting the world. Robert North, in a paper prepared in connection with this study, provides a brief account of this.

> In August, 1957, Harpers magazine published an article by Peter F. Drucker which reported to the general reader how the philosophy we have relied upon for the last three centuries, wittingly or unwittingly, is being replaced because it no longer suits the science or the society of our times. The old view of the world, the philosophical assumptions upon which western societies have largely based their thinking for the past three hundred years, was essentially "Cartesian." It encompassed assumptions which, consciously or unconsciously, the westerner tended to accept about himself, about his relations with other men, and about the universe and his own role within it.
>
> Our fundamental modification of these assumptions has come about only within the last generation or so, and only a relatively few people have been aware of what has been happening. The turning point in the social sciences was probably in the 1940's--though the physical sciences had been working on the basis of new

assumptions since the turn of the century. "An intelligent and well-educated man of the first 'modern' generation--that of Newton, Hobbes, and Locke--might still have been able to understand and make himself understood up to World War II. But it is unlikely that he could still communicate with the world today, only fifteen years later."

During the early seventeenth century Rene Descartes made two basic contributions to Western thought. One was the widely accepted definition of science as "the certain and evident knowledge of things by their causes," an assumption which was popularly interpreted as meaning that "the whole is the sum of its parts." The second Cartesian contribution was a concept of the world "unified in simply quantitative relations which could deal efficiently with motion and change, the flow of time, and even the invisible." The development and refinement of this concept, especially through mathematics and symbolic logic, led to Lord Kelvin's reassertion of Cartesian principles two hundred years later: "I know what I can measure." As a consequence, whatever contrary assumptions and principles a western man might profess, these were the ones which underlay what he had studied in school and that he tended to live by, whether he realized it or not. They shaped the thinking and to a large degree the behavior of the whole society of which he was a part.

Over the last fifty years, however, we have been moving steadily, though sometimes almost unconsciously, away from the view that the whole is strictly "the sum of its parts," that the whole is strictly "determined by its parts," that the behavior of the whole is caused strictly by the motions of its parts, and that "there is no such thing as wholeness apart from the different sums, structures, and relationships of the parts". More and more we find scientists relying upon concepts that are essentially qualitative, rather than quantitative--or, more precisely, upon concepts which suggest the interacting of qualitative and quantitative phenomena. Contrary to widespread assumption, the new social sciences derive less from quantification--numbers alone--than from unified concepts embracing the interdependence of quantity and quality. Their terms are all relatively new, and they tend to denote combinations of qualitative and quantitative elements. According to such concepts, quantitative change achieves significance when it becomes qualitative--when the grains of sand have become a sandpile, or an aggregation of human beings have become a community. What we confront is discontinuous, rather than continuous events, a sudden leap beyond a qualitative threshold at which sounds turn into recognizable melody, words and motions into behavior, procedures into a management philosophy, or the atom of one element into that of another.

The new world view is concerned with dynamics, growth, processes, development, values and purpose. But the purpose is not the purpose men once conceived of as lying outside the organism and mystically apart or "above" it. Today's purposes lie in configurations and organisms themselves. What we contemplate today is not the purpose of the universe, but the purpose in the universe. The consideration is physical, not metaphysical; "It is the purpose, if you will, which in Aristotelian terms impels the acorn in its long, slow but predictable and irreversable development into an oak."

Over the last generation or so these new concepts have "become the reality of our work and world." Implicitly, if not explicitly, we take them for granted even though we may not understand them or be entirely aware of how continually we draw upon them. Some of us, still paying lip service to Christianized Platonism, act on assumptions in our daily lives that are undergoing a similar transformation. At times the discontinuities and inconsistencies give rise to difficulties we do not fully understand. "We have abandoned the Cartesian world view; but we have not developed, so far, a new tool box of methods or a new axiom of meaning and inquiry." Largely, we are still dependent upon outmoded Cartesian instruments.

Such was the state of affairs which the Drucker article reported on in 1957. Since then there have been increasing efforts at shaping tools and devising the axioms that are needed. We still have a long way to go but this much can be asserted emphatically: the new concepts do not repudiate the basic and time-honored canons of scientific investigation. If anything, the contemporary scholar must be more concerned than ever about the clarity of his assumptions, the discipline of his inferences, the strictness of his controls, the accuracy of his measurements, the logic of his sampling, the care with which he assesses reliability and validity. "The way is not to repudiate the Cartesian world view, but to overcome and encompass it," and this requires a continuing search for ways of analyzing--systematically, accurately, and replicatively--such elusive phenomena as quality, value, feeling, perception, emotion, judgment and purpose. It requires daring to measure the immeasurable. It is a large order.

> The new, non-Cartesian world view has immediate roots that we need not trace in detail. Some of the most useful explications appeared just before and during the first decade after World War II.
>
> Drawing from their knowledge of the physical and natural sciences, for example, Erwin Schrodinger, Lancelot Law Whyte, and others criticized traditional dichotomies and mutually exclusive conceptions of material and seemingly non-material phenomena; emphasized the unitary nature of man and his earthly environment and, indeed, of the whole universe; and laid stress upon two fundamental, opposing processes--the tendency for things to organize on many levels, and the tendency for things to run down. It is from these fundamental assumptions and concepts that the general systems approach is emerging.
>
> This conceptual framework--the general systems framework--is being used in a number of disciplines. In the long run one of its major virtues may lie in the fact that it seems to provide a systematic way of moving from organization to organization (both biological and social) and from level to level (individual, family, band, tribe, chiefdom, state, world community, for example) in a systematic way--as if through a system of conceptual canal locks. Within this framework a variety of analytic approaches can be used--the cybernetic, the decision-making, the balance (including the balance of power in politics), coalition formation, bargaining theory, and so forth.[38]

Whether, as some suggest, general systems theory does provide a "broad conceptual framework from which a new world view of man will emerge" is historically an open question. But it does seem reasonable to assume that the general intellectual orientation reflected in the general system approach will prevail in the behavioral sciences for some time to come.[39] Hence, to treat the world perceived as a totality as a system, and to accurately view international education as education about the world system, seems congruent with major intellectual currents within the behavioral sciences.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has sought to briefly review our efforts to deal with the first problem of concern to the FPA study. This is summarized in the question: How can international education be most fruitfully defined or conceived for purposes of planning future curriculum development, basic research, and programs in teacher education? These efforts yielded two general conclusions.

A. First, our examination of extant literature and our conversations with educators and social scientists have suggested a set of criteria which seem important for a conception of international education to meet in order to be judged an adequate guide to the planning and development of future curriculum, research, and programs in teacher training. Summarized in propositional form these criteria are:

1. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that avoid the ethnocentrism inherent in sharp divisions between the study of American and non-American societies, and that facilitate the integration of American and international studies.

2. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that encourage and conceptually facilitate the integration of disciplines and academic concerns traditionally associated with international studies at the university level.

3. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that explicitly highlight the historically unprecedented degree of interrelatedness that now characterizes mankind at the global level and explicitly focus attention on the resulting need to educate individuals to understand the world as a whole.

4. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that serve to conceptually integrate international studies and the broader concerns of the historian and behavioral scientist with the earth as a planet and mankind as a species of life.

5. In planning and developing future programs, international education, because it does touch upon the areas of traditional sensitivity within the culture, should be viewed in ways that minimize negative emotional reactions and widespread political controversy.

6. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that reflect current and projected major intellectual trends within the behavioral sciences.

B. Second, we have endeavored to examine several alternative ways of viewing international education in light of these criteria. The conception which appears to most fully satisfy these criteria is the notion of international education as education about the world system. Put more formally we suggest that in planning and developing future programs it appears that we might fruitfully conceptualize international education as:

> The social experience and the learning process through which individuals acquire and change their images of the world perceived as a totality and their orientation toward particular components of the world system.

This is obviously a very broad conception whose implication for curriculum development, for basic research, and for programs in teacher education must be spelled out. One of these problems of implication concerns the objectives which the schools ought to seek to achieve. International education viewed in this manner is clearly a life long process that takes place in many institutional contexts. The schools are but one of these. Thus, one must ask what particular contributions can and should the schools make to the development of students' understanding of the world system? The following chapter is concerned with this question.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHOOLS AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: THE PROBLEM OF OBJECTIVES

I. Introduction

Chapter I of this report briefly described our efforts to deal with the first problem of concern to the Foreign Policy Association's study--the matter of how international education might be most fruitfully conceived or defined. Our efforts produced two general results: First, we suggested a set of criteria in terms of which alternative conceptions of international education might be appraised. Second, we recommended that in light of these criteria international education might be usefully viewed as education about the world system.

In this chapter of the report we turn to the second problem of concern to the study. This is the matter of what objectives ought to be served by the schools in the field of international education. Our concern is summarized in the question:

> What contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to the international education of American children and adolescents?*

II. An Initial Effort to Specify Objectives

In an initial working paper designed to serve as a starting point for discussion of the problem of objectives we defined our quest in this way:

> Looking ahead to the characteristics of the world which today's and tomorrow's children will inhabit as adults, what are the world affairs orientations we ought to be trying to develop or cultivate by means of the school curriculum? What, in brief, are the defining characteristics of the politically com-

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* We are primarily concerned with the social studies curriculum, but since curriculum boundaries are blurred and in many instances artificial we speak of the curriculum in general although our emphasis is quite clearly upon social studies.

> petent human being destined to live in the last two decades of the twentieth century and the first few decades of the twenty-first? We are, in effect, asking educators and social scientists to project themselves ahead and imagine students graduating from high school in the 1980's and 1990's. What are our best guesses about the qualities of mind and spirit which will equip them to live in the "post-modern" era? What kinds of knowledge and conceptions ought they to have of their own and other societies, of the way societies interrelate with one another, and of the social institutions and associations that span the boundaries of nations? What kind of conceptual capacities and information processing skills ought they to develop in the course of their K-12 schooling?

These queries elicited a number of responses which we then attempted to condense, logically combine, and finally to formulate into a series of propositions specifying general qualities or capabilities which a curriculum ought to develop within students. An initial inventory of these propositions reads as follows:

1. The curriculum should enhance the development of the capacity to think conceptually and comparatively in regard to dimensions of similarity and variation among the objectives of world affairs education, e.g. societies.
2. The curriculum should enhance the development of an understanding of and skill in:
    a. The framing of pertinent questions.
    b. The formulation of propositions and hypotheses.
    c. The distinguishing of descriptive, explanatory, predicative, and value claims.
    d. The logical and empirical evaluation of the validity of different types of claims.
    e. The use of models of inquiry and problem solving.
3. The curriculum should enhance the development of a sense of involvement in, and sensitivity to, the realities of the human condition, e.g. global inequities in the distribution of such human values as wealth, well-being, education, security from violence, etc.
4. The curriculum should enhance the development of a capacity for the empathic recognition of commonalities in human behavior amidst cultural, social, and situational diversity.
5. The curriculum should enhance the development of an

operating awareness of an inevitability of ethnocentric bias in our own and others' perceptions and interpretations of the international scene.

6. The curriculum should enhance the development of a fund of more or less objective, "value-free" concepts and language in which to think and communicate about the international environment.

7. The curriculum should enhance the development of a capacity to expect, recognize, tolerate, adapt to, and (for the most part) encourage social change.

8. The curriculum should enhance the development of a capacity to recognize and tolerate complexity and ambiguity.

9. The curriculum should enhance the development of a capacity to experience multiple loyalties and identifications.

10. The curriculum should enhance the development of a capacity for "independent study" for continuous learning outside of the classroom.

We sought to assess the strength and weakness of this inventory by seeking response to the following questions:

1. Do these capture the major social-psychological phenomena with which we ought to be concerned in thinking about the desirable outputs of world affairs education? What is missing?

2. How much political support do these recommendations command within the social science community; within the educational community?

3. How can we most usefully define or conceptualize these or other desired capacities? How much help can we get from the literature on empathy, ethnocentrism, tolerance of ambiguity, etc.?

4. How can we, as it were, operationalize our conceptions of desirable educational outcomes? How can we develop measures or indicators which are useful in curriculum evaluation and in assessing the distribution of these capabilities within populations?

The discussion generated by these and comparable queries proved profitable in several ways. Our initial efforts elicited enough favorable reaction to suggest that we were at least in the ball park. On the other side of the coin, other reactions led us to believe that while being in the ball park we were not playing quite the right game.

Specifically, our initial efforts were subjected to at least three major kinds of criticism:

First, our strategy of inquiry was faulted on the ground that our procedures would simply lead to an indefinitely long inventory of desirable human qualities or characteristics. While granting that complete closure was impossible, our critics argued that what was needed was a scheme that in one way or another focused and organized attention on a limited range of high priority objectives.

Second, it was pointed out, by several people who examined the inventory of objectives, that our strategy was apparently failing to yield statements about "content objectives", that is, specifications of what the curriculum should emphasize or focus upon. Many of those making this criticism agreed with the gist of an argument made by Charles McClelland to the effect that:

> There is no acceptable way to construct a detailed curriculum for grades K through 12 and to put it into general practice. The large differences in student abilities and experience, the wide variations in educational philosophy and practice from district to district and region to region of the country, the disparities in educational expectations among teachers and administrators, the traditions of local autonomy, and the resistance to centralization and standardization all militate against the prevalence of any single plan. Further, in the study of world affairs, the data have such a great scope and variety that any one best selection is largely out of the question. There are more than 120 countries and each country has historical, geographical, economic, political, and cultural attributes and relations. Almost any information about the countries might be found to be relevant in one perspective or another. Far too many facts are available; worldwide communication produces a fresh supply of detail each day. How to take note of those events, conditions, and developments which fit in some meaningful framework and how to set aside the less relevant material involves techniques that are hard to learn. Thus, a school curriculum which consists primarily of a selection of subject matter to be studied at each grade level is exactly the wrong kind of device for learning how to pick and choose the important and relevant material from the vast stream of changing communication from the world at large. The obvious reason is that the selection of subject matter has already been specified thereby removing most of the possibilities for learning how to use the selection process.
>
> What we should look forward to and what we should help to create is a very large and rich body of teaching materials from which teacher and student can select in learning the skills of information processing.

> Any acceptable curriculum plan for world affairs instruction in the schools must be a design having breadth and depth and permitting very wide variation in its application. There simply is no responsible way to tie a proper world affairs curriculum to a particular body of subject matter.[1]

But while agreeing that there is "no responsible way to tie proper world affairs curriculum to a particular body of subject matter," it was argued that a formulation of objectives ought to include judgments about the kinds of phenomena that ought to be emphasized in, or be made foci of, programs and materials in international studies.

Third, it was pointed out that our endeavors seemed to be producing a kind of potpourri with no indication of how different objectives might cluster or be related to one another along common dimensions. In an effort to meet this particular criticism we entertained the possibility of organizing objectives into the common trinity of "knowledge," "skill," and "affective" objectives. Perhaps for reasons of our own incompetency this attempt proved unsatisfactory, so while retaining these distinctions for other purposes, we looked for other modes of grouping or organizing objectives.

In an endeavor to meet these criticisms we explored several alternative ways of approaching the problem of specifying objectives. After several false starts we returned to one of the most widely used phrases in the literature of international education. This is the term "international or world understanding." Innumerable curriculum guides and a vast body of commentary refer to the development of students' international understanding as being one of the cardinal purposes of social education in the modern world. But while it is a widely employed term, "international understanding" enjoys no precise, stable, or widely agreed upon meaning as was suggested in the Introduction.[2] For this reason we initially avoided using the term, but failing to find a wholly satisfactory substitute, we elected to return to the concept and seek to explicate its meaning in the context of international education viewed as education about the world system. As we pondered the term and what different people had said and written about international understanding, it seemed to us that the concept points in two directions: On the one hand it points outward to the world and encompasses things, objects, or phenomena to be understood. On the other hand, it points inward to individuals and encompasses the qualities, characteristics, or capabilities to be developed or cultivated. Hence, it seemed to us that the job of explicating the meaning of international understanding might usefully be broken down into two sub-tasks both of which can be phrased briefly in question form:

1. What are the objects of international understanding? That is, what are the aspects of the world about which one seeks to develop students' understanding?

2. What are the dimensions of international understanding? That is, what are the qualities, characteristics, or capacities that one seeks to develop within students?

III. Objects of International Understanding

The verb "to understand" implies there are objects, things, or phenomena to be understood. Thus, the concept "international understanding" also implies the existence of "objects" to be understood. It is the comprehension and knowledge of these which we seek to develop in children and adolescents. What are these objects?

If we can fruitfully think of international education as education about the world system, in turn we can think of international or world understanding as an understanding of the world system. Thus, the most inclusive object of international understanding can be visualized as the world or earth system perceived as a totality. In this sense we can, in Kenneth Boulding's terms, view the task of developing students' international understanding as a matter of "transmitting to the next generation a rich image of the 'total earth'".[3]

Two points must be immediately made about this formulation. First, and obviously, no one attains a complete understanding or a full comprehension of the world system as a totality. Indeed, it is impossible to say what such understanding would consist of short of the omniscience traditionally attributed to God. Second, and perhaps equally obvious, the developing of international understanding in the sense defined here is a life-long process. The schools, and more particularly the K-12 social studies curriculum, are but one of many sources or agents of international learning. Since the schools do not monopolize the process of international education, it is necessary to ask: What are the particular contributions which the K-12 social studies curriculum can and should make to the development of students' international understanding?

We attempted to evolve an answer to this question within a context suggested by our selection of the twin verbs "can and should." On the one hand, we tried to maintain a sensitivity to what we and many others perceive to be the "radical" nature of modern man's educational needs, and on the other hand, we also sought to maintain a sensitivity to imperatives of practicality. The concept of world system is not a familiar notion in the culture of American education, and curriculum based squarely on an elaboration of this concept would be a radical departure from tradition in many respects.

Among other things, it calls for a re-combination and integration of a great many elements that are currently taught about the physical earth and life sciences, the humanities, mathematics, and the behavioral sciences. In our judgment, curriculum organized around an image of the world as a complex cluster of interpenetrating living and non-living systems represents a target toward which our efforts ought to be aimed, but the task of moving between where we now stand and the goal which we seek would seem to be a matter of incrementally modifying existing curriculum. What is currently needed, it would appear, is a conception of the schools' contributions to the development of students' understanding of the world system that can serve as a bridge between the present and the future.

It seemed to us that there are three standards which a conception ought to meet in order to function as a bridge between now and then. It must be partially grounded in the traditional concerns of the schools' curriculum. It must reflect basic trends or the forward thrusts of the contemporary curriculum reform movement. Finally, it must point to logical next steps in curriculum reform.

With these criteria in mind we tentatively concluded that it may prove useful to think of the curriculum as making three general kinds of contributions to the development of students' understanding of the world system. First, the K-12 social studies curriculum can and should develop students' understanding of the earth as a planet. Second, the curriculum should develop students' understanding of mankind viewed as one species of life. Third, the curriculum should develop students' understanding of the international system as one level of human social organization, one of a multiplicity of social systems in which individuals participate, and through which human values such as wealth, power, health, enlightenment, and respect are created and allocated among members of the human species.

This conception or general model of the objects of international understanding appears to meet the criteria noted above. The model's first element, that is, the planet earth as an object of understanding, is a long-standing concern of traditional curriculum in the social studies as well as the sciences. The second element - the development of an understanding of the human species as one of many forms of life - reflects one of the more pervasive thrusts of the contemporary curriculum reform movement. From the "new biology" to the "new social studies" there is a growing interest in enhancing the scope and sophistication of students' understanding of man qua man. This is evidenced,among other places, in efforts to globalize studies of human history, in a growing interest in anthropology, in efforts to make more extensive and sophisticated use of man-other animal comparisons, and in efforts to build into the curriculum behavioral science-oriented studies of basic human behaviors and social activities.

The third element of the model, that is, the development of an understanding of the global social system viewed as one of several analytically comparable levels of human social organization, is less familiar and represents somewhat of an innovation in our customary modes of approaching the study of international affairs. However, the image of the world as a global system is becoming a very familiar notion in international studies at the university level, and is at the elementary and secondary levels of American education simply an extension of several current trends. The basic concept of social system is finding its way into the curriculum. Moreover, if we can make mankind qua mankind the unit of analysis in studies of the species' history and in studies of the ways in which man resembles and differs from other animals, there is no reason why we cannot think of the species qua species being socially organized just as we think of particular groups within the species as being socially organized. Furthermore, as comparative analysis becomes an increasingly familiar mode of inquiry in the social studies, the notion of comparing the global social system (or selected aspects of it) with social systems at the sub-global level would seem to be simply a logical extension of comparing nations with nations, political systems with political systems, and so on. For example, if students can be taught how to compare two or more national political systems in terms of such considerations as what ideology underlies the systems, there appears to be no reason why they cannot be similarly taught to compare the world political system with the poltical systems of particular nations or of other groups at the sub-global level. In short, the notion of the curriculum developing an understanding of the global social system appears to be simply a logical extension of ideas currently entering the curriculum.

Needless to say, the schools can communicate to children and young people only a very limited amount of information and conceptualization about the planet earth, the human species, and the global social system. Thus, anyone endeavoring to develop a model of the "objects" of international understanding immediately faces one aspect of that many-faceted issue conventionally dubbed the "coverage problem." Given the fact that what the schools can teach is only a very small sample of the total population of knowledge that might be communicated to students, what ought to be selected from this total universe to be emphasized by the curriculum? More specifically, what is there about the planet, about the species, and about the global social system that ought to be emphasized in the planning and developing of future programs in international education?

Clearly these are basic queries. Far from being original questions, they have been worried over by all educators and most social scientists, argued about by many, and written about by a respectful fraction of scholars. In the course of this study, we tried to "sample" the current state of thinking about these questions through examining what has been written, discussing what is being thought, and reviewing some of the things that are being done in curriculum development. We then endeavored to identify what, in our judgment, were "advanced currents" of thought (which in some instances were "currents" separated from the "main currents"), and to map these in brief summary fashion.

The Planet Earth as an Object of Understanding

The earth as a planet has traditionally been an object of inquiry in both the science and social studies curriculums. We have not attempted to deal with the issue of what an understanding of the planet implies from the vantage point of the earth sciences *qua* earth sciences. Rather we have sought to look at the problem from the perspective of developing students' "international understanding" broadly defined as an understanding of the world system. From this perspective, two general points seem to stand out and each of these in turn implies two or three somewhat more specific points:

In the first place, an understanding of the world system would seem to imply some existential awareness and cognitive comprehension of the location of the human venture on the vast continua of cosmic space and time. In turn this would seem to imply some understanding of the status and location of the earth as a planet in the cosmic system. It would also seem to imply some understanding of the cosmological and geological histories of the planet earth, and some comparative understanding of the earth: that is, some understanding of similarities and differences between the earth and other known planets, and perhaps imagined planets, as portrayed in science fiction.

In the second place the development of an understanding of the world system would seem to imply the development of some understanding of the planet earth as "the home of man" (to use a common but seldom fully developed image from elementary education). This is to say, that the concept of international education seems to imply some appreciation of the fact that just as the behavior of a child is both shaped by and in turn shapes his family as a social system, so man and more broadly the larger system of life of which man is a part is both conditioned by and shapes the planet viewed as an interpenetrating series of physical systems. This would seem to imply the development of some understanding of major features of the planet's contemporary geology and major characteristics of its current geography with special emphasis upon an understanding of the interrelation of these to the biological evolution of life, and particularly the bio-cultural development of the human species. Also, it would seem to imply the development of some understanding of current and anticipated world-wide problems in man-biosphere relations, such as air, water, and soil pollution, mineral resources depletion, weather control, and shortages of organic matter needed for human food.

The Human Species as an Object of Understanding

As noted elsewhere, there is a growing stress upon the problem of developing within students a relatively sophisticated understanding of their own species. Our efforts to crystallize and summarize what we perceive to be major thrusts in current thinking about this matter yielded seven general conclusions.

First, there appears to be a growing conviction that in the course of their K-12 schooling students should begin to develop a conceptually sophisticated comparative understanding of man as one of many forms of life or types of living systems. This would seem to imply, in the first instance, the development of some comparative understanding of life and non-life, and of differences and similarities in living and non-living systems. Secondly, a comparative understanding of man implies some understanding of similarities and differences between man and other living systems. These other systems include most obviously other contemporary animals and the "proto-human" animals that appear to be homo sapiens' immediate evolutionary predecessors. The obvious dimensions of comparison include man-other animal physiology, man-other animal psychology, and man-other animal sociology.

The total universe of living systems to which man can be compared also includes imagined forms of life elsewhere in the universe as portrayed, for example, in the better science fiction literature. Also, for children of the "post-modern" era, the population of analytically comparable living forms should include the prospect of "artificially" created life. As Kenneth Boulding observes, it is very likely that soon man will put his

> ...busy little fingers into the business of genetic evolution. We might even recreate the dodo and the dinosaur and then go on to the imaginary animals, the centaurs and the fauns. This is the kind of world for which we might have to prepare our children.[4]

Still another dimension of man-other "living system" comparisons that can legitimately occupy a niche in contemporary education is man-complex machine comparisons. Zbigniew Brzezinski, in reviewing what we might reasonably expect to see in the course of the next few decades, reflects the estimate of many observers in noting:

> Scientists predict with some confidence that by the end of this century, computers will reason as well as man, and will be able to engage in 'creative' thought; wedded to the robots or to 'laboratory beings' they could act like humans. The makings of a most complex - and perhaps bitter - philosophical and political dialogue about the nature of man are self-evident in these developments.[5]

Second, the traditional theme that the K-12 curriculum should serve to develop students' understanding of basic human commonalities continues to be stressed by many educators. While it is not always clear what people have in mind when they speak of human commonalities, four kinds of commonalities seem to be mentioned with some regularity. First, and most obvious, are commonalities in man's physiological and biological needs (e.g. need for food, water, air, protection from temperature extremes, etc.). Second are commonalities in man's psychic or phychological needs (e.g. the need for cognitive order or meaning, the need for affection, the need for a sense of self-respect, the need for predictability in most social relationships, etc.). Third, are similarities or commonalities in the functional needs or requisites of human societies and in their component social and cultural systems (e.g. the need to socialize the young into the norms of the society, the need for social control, the need for conflict resolution, etc.). Fourth, are similarities, analogues, or parallels in the historical experiences of different groups (e.g. similarities in the function of the frontiers in American and Soviet societies, parallels in the foreign policy behavior of the United States as a "new nation" and the foreign policy behaviors of new nations in Africa and Asia, analogues between the treatment of Indians in American society and apartheid policy in the Union of South Africa, etc.).

Third, there is a good deal of stress placed upon the importance of developing within students some understanding of the sources within the human condition of variations or differences in human actions and ways of life. Minimally, this appears to take the form of the argument that students should develop an understanding of the interrelated facts that: (1) most human actions are socially learned behaviors (in contrast to being biologically determined); (2) what individuals learn is determined in large measure by the content of the culture of the group(s) into which they have been born and/or in which they are members; (3) the content of the culture of different groups varies; and (4) variations in the culture of human groups (both societies and sub-groups within societies) is the cumulative result of many factors including the facts: that the human species lives on a geographically and climatically heterogeneous planet; that the species historically has been spacially dispersed and fragmented into several thousand local societies, many of which have been socially isolated from each other; that a society's or a group's culture is a product of its historical experience which is, like the personal experience of individuals, unique in some respects.

Fourth, and closely related to the last point, is an increasing emphasis upon the importance of developing within students understandings of basic human behavior and social activities that are grounded in the concepts, theories, and analytical problems of the behavioral sciences. This emphasis appears to assume two major related forms. One is in the form of a call for behavioral-science based studies of particular human bahaviors or social activities (e.g. attitude formation, socialization, urbanization, political participation, etc.). The second is in the form of an argument that students should come to understand human beings (1) as biological systems, (2) as personality systems, (3) as actors or role occupants within social systems, (4) as "products" of cultural systems, and (5) as participants in natural ecological systems.

Fifth, in a great deal of current thinking about what students ought to come to understand about the human species, there is clearly an emphasis on the importance of developing conceptual understandings of what can be termed "structural characteristics" of man as a species of life. By "structural characteristics" we have in mind characteristics of the human species that substantially condition, mold, or structure inter-personal and inter-group relations within the species. What are these "structural characteristics"? The following inventory is hardly exhaustive, but it would appear to point up a range of phenomena about which the K-12 curriculum should develop some conceptual understanding.

1. The human species is a racially diverse species.

2. The human species is a culturally diverse species, that is, characterized by variations in socially shared perceptions, cognition, and valuations. (This would include diversity in religious systems and in systems of socio-political ideology, e.g. democracy, communism, socialism, etc.)

3. The human species is an institutionally diverse species, that is, characterized by variations in family systems, educational systems, political systems, economic systems, etc.

4. The human species is a linguistically diverse species.

5. The human species is, in general, an economically depressed species but with vast disparities in the wealth, education, health, etc. enjoyed by its members.

6. The human species is a politically uncentralized (or stateless) species.

7. The human species is demographically a rapidly expanding species.

8. The human species is an increasingly urbanized species.

9. The human species is an increasingly violent species (the number of human beings who become victims of violent conflict is increasing).

10. The human species is an increasingly industrialized (or more broadly mechanized) species.

11. The human species is an increasingly interdependent species.

Sixth, there clearly is a growing concern with developing in students a "species-centered" or "globally-focused" understanding of man's biological evolution and our cultural development as a species. This is evidenced in efforts to place contemporary man in the perspective of the species' natural history, the bulk of which transpired before the dawn of the classical civilizations. It is also evidenced in efforts to focus upon the "great transformations," the periods of step-wise change in the human condition, as points of emphasis in the cultivation of young humans' historical understanding of mankind.

Seventh, and clearly related to the last point but perhaps deserving of special note, is the emphasis placed by many educators and social scientists upon the importance of developing students' understanding of the process or dynamics of socio-cultural change within the species, and between the species and its physical and biological environments. Since rapid and extensive change is such a pervasive feature of modern life, and for countless millions such an emotionally traumatic and socially disruptive experience, it is argued that the phenomena of change warrants special attention in the modern school's efforts to develop students' understanding of man _qua_ man.

The Global Social System as an Object of Understanding

The international or global social system constitutes the third element in the general model of the "objects" of international understanding. What kinds of understandings or knowledge can and should the K-12 curriculum seek to impart about the international social system?

First, an understanding of the international social system implies some knowledge of the major units or entities that comprise the contemporary international system. In the context of elementary and secondary education it would seem that we might usefully think of the international system as being comprised of three major kinds of entities: territorial based societies of which the modern world's 130 or so nation-states are the primary contemporary type; cross-national organizations; and areas of "internationally owned" space.

With respect to the first of these -- nation-states -- there is very widespread agreement that in addition to developing some knowledge about American and European societies, students should develop some knowledge about African, Asian, and Latin American societies. In the second place, many educators and social scientists are stressing that the kind of knowledge about societies that students ought to be acquiring is a comparative understanding of the modern world's 130 or so national societies. The call for comparative understanding appears to assume two major forms. One is essentially cross-historical comparison. The plea is for an understanding of the ways in which contemporary nation-states and particularly large scale, complex, and highly industrialized nation-states, resemble and differ from primitive and traditional societies. The second is essentially cross-sectional comparison of contemporary nation-states. The plea is for the development of an understanding of concepts in terms of which the geography, histories, demography, social structure, cultures, levels of economic development, etc. of differnt societies can be compared. Or, to put the point a bit differently, it is argued that students should not be learning discrete information about particular nations (e.g. the chief exports of country X are soybean oil and tin ore; X is ruled by a monarch; most of the people in X are very poor, etc.). Rather, they ought to be acquiring concepts which permit students to array nations of the modern world along different dimensions relating to differences and similarities in their history, geography, politics, economics, culture, relations with other nations, etc.

With respect to cross-national organizations there appear to be three distinct points that are emphasized by many educators and social scientists. First, and the most general, is that contemporary students' understanding of cross-national organizations cannot be legitimately confined to a bit of knowledge about the U.N. Students should develop some consciousness (even if they cannot acquire a great deal of information) about the more than one hundred organizations that link governments to governments and the several hundred private or non-governmental organizations that span national boundaries, particularly large international business organizations, professional associations, and the international scientific community.

Two, there is an emphasis, particularly on the part of social scientists, on developing students' understanding of cross-national organizations in terms of the functions they perform within the international system in contrast to simply some knowledge of their formal organizational structure. For example, students should develop some understanding of the U.N. in terms of the functions it performs as a center of decision-making, a site for diplomatic negotiations, an agent in the channeling of economic resources from the developed to the developing nations, a forum for national propaganda, a peace-keeping or policing institution,etc.

Three, and closely related to the last point, there is some emphasis being placed upon the importance of developing students' understanding of cross-national organizations as alternative and/or supplementary organizational structures to nation-states in the performance of social, economic and political functions within the international system, e.g. international organizations as major agencies of economic development, international agencies as the "exploiters" of the mineral resources in the world's oceans and sea beds, etc.

By "internationally owned" space we have in mind of course the planet's polar regions, its oceans, and outer-space. The development of some understanding of the international status and actual and potential uses of these areas, particularly the planet's oceans and outer-space world, seem to be a significant item in the development of students' understanding of the world system in light of the fact that these areas are very likely to assume increasing salience in world affairs in the decades immediately ahead.

Second, an understanding of the international social system implies some understanding of the ways in which national societies relate and interact with one another. The development of such understanding, in turn, would seem to imply the development of students' understanding of the following processes. (Clearly this list is not exhaustive of all inter-societal processes, but it appears to capture the processes frequently stressed as being important phenomena about which students ought to develop some understanding.)

1. Inter-nation conflict and conflict resolution.

2. Inter-nation war.

3. Inter-nation collaboration and integration.

4. Inter-nation trade, foreign aid, and foreign investment.

5. Inter-nation immigration.

6. Inter-nation communication and transportation.

7. Foreign policy decision-making.

8. Cultural diffusion.

9. Inter-nation influence (power).

10. The formation of international attitudes, images, and perceptions.

Third, an understanding of the international social system appears to imply some historical understanding of the nation-state system. This reflects the thrust of an argument made by a rather large number of educators and social scientists to the effect that students should learn that historically the human species has been politically organized in many ways and that nation-states are but one of these. Students should come to understand that the political organization of the human species into more than one hundred nation-states is historically of recent origin. They should come to see that the nation-state system has been undergoing continuous change since its origin in Western Europe during the 17th Century, will continue to change, and very likely will be superseded in time by new forms of political organization.

Fourth, the development of an understanding of the global social system implies the development of some understanding of major international social problems. By these we do not have in mind particular current international problems such as the Israel-Arab dispute, the Berlin question, the Kashmir issue, etc., but rather generalized problems created by the structure of the system and/or changes occurring within the system. Among major problems of continuing salience within the international community are:

1. The control of inter-group, particularly inter-nation, violence and the peaceful resolution of conflict.

2. The control of population growth.

3. Increasing the wealth, education, health, and power (capacity to participate in or influence social decisions that affect one's life) of the developing two-thirds of mankind.

4. Limiting or reducing the social and psychological costs of world-wide urbanization, technological change, and the development of large-scale, highly bureaucratized social organizations, both private and public.

5. Limiting and controlling further deterioration in the human environment, in the bio-sphere -- that thin layer of earth, water, and air that supports all life.

6. Problems of exploiting the resources of the world's oceans and outer-space for the welfare of mankind in general.

Summary

The concern of this paper is the question: what contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to childrens' and young peoples' international education?

We noted that traditionally this question has been answered with the assertion that the curriculum ought to develop students' international understanding. The concept of international understanding implies that there are objects or things to be understood, and we have attempted, up to this point to report our efforts to outline in summary form what might be properly considered to be major "objects" of international understanding.

First, we said that in its broadest sense international understanding might be taken to mean an understanding of the world system.

Second, we suggested that it might be useful to view the schools as being capable of making three primary kinds of contributions to the development of students' understanding of the world system: an understanding of the earth as a planet; an understanding of mankind as a species of life; and an understanding of the global social system as one level of human social organization.

Third, we have attempted to spell out in summary form what there is about the planet, the species, and the international social system that ought to be stressed or emphasized in teaching about them.

IV. Dimensions of International Understanding

If the concept of international understanding points outward toward "objects" to be understood, the concept also points inward toward certain qualities, characteristics, or capacities to be developed within individuals. These are what we have in mind in speaking of the "dimensions" of international understanding.

Viewed from this perspective, we can think of international understanding as a quality analogous to height or weight. That is, we can view international understanding, as both a continuum (more accurately a set of continua) and as a characteristic (more accurately a set of characteristics) possessed in varying degrees by individuals. Just as one can order a population of individuals along a continuum ranging from those who possess the most height (the tallest) to those who possess the least height (the shortest), so in imagination, we can arrange individuals along a continuum ranging from those who possess a great deal of "international understanding" to those who possess very little "international understanding;" that is, we can do this if we can conceptualize the qualities or characteristics that define "international understanding."

We believe that the conception of international education developed previously points to one (of what are hopefully many) promising approach to this problem. If we can usefully think of the total world as a system, we can also usefully think of individuals as actors or participants in this system. If we do this, then we can ask the question: How do individuals participate in the world system? Or more broadly and accurately put, what are the modes in which individuals relate to the world system?

In the course of thinking and talking about this question, it occurred to us that we might usefully distinguish six primary ways or modes of relating to the world system at least in the context of elementary and secondary education. Or to use the term "role" in a very loose and popular sense, one might fruitfully think of individuals as performing six major kinds of roles within the world system.

First, individuals possess knowledge about and understanding of various phenomena within the world system.

Second, individuals make analytical judgments about various phenomena within the world system. By this we mean that they make judgments about what is or is not true, what is or is not empirically the case, what is or is not "reality" or "fact." To assert that poverty is a cause of revolutions; to believe that a rich world will be a peaceful world; to assert that alliances cause wars; to argue that differences in the types of clothes people wear can be explained in terms of differences in climates; to reject as unfounded the claim that there are racially related differences in human intelligence - is to make analytic judgments about the world system.

Third, individuals make normative judgments or evaluations of phenomena within the world system. Most of the time these judgments are in the form of attitudes. To believe that it is wrong for the French government to stir up French Canadian separatist sentiment; to argue that is is not true that Viet Nam is an immoral war; to feel that the rich nations ought to aid the poor nations; to believe that foreigners are inferior to Americans - is to make normative judgments.

Fourth, individuals are observers of the current history of the world system. The great bulk of the system's current history, including most "publically significant" events, is experientially remote from the personal lives of most individuals and known only indirectly. This means that the process of observing current history in large measure is a matter of sorting out, evaluating, and organizing the barrage of "messages" that flow through a complex network of elite, mass, and interpersonal communication that make up the world's communication system. An individual listening to a conversation about recent events in Viet Nam or the report of a recently returned visitor from Czechoslovakia; reading a newspaper story of the day's events in the United Nations; watching a TV special about an international crisis; listening to a lecture on recent developments in the chemistry of human learning - is functioning as an observer of the current history of the world system.

Fifth, individuals are policy analysts and critics. As an intellectual operation, the process of analyzing and judging the policies or actions of organized groups within the world system (particularly the foreign policy decisions and actions of national governments) appears to involve a complex blending of knowledge, analytical skill, evaluation, and observation combined with a capacity for judgment in the face of normally incomplete information and future uncertainty. To reject a proposal to intensify air raids on the grounds that it would be unwise for the United States to escalate the war in Viet Nam because of likely counter-moves on the part of China;

to deem impractical a proposed increase in foreign aid because such a move would not command sufficient public support; to argue for an extension of the nuclear test ban treaty on the grounds that resumption of surface testing would be detrimental to the health of the human species - is to function in the role of policy analyst and critic.

Sixth, individuals are actors in the international social system. To be a soldier in a national military force abroad; to be a student studying abroad; to interact with non-Americans in social or business situations; to travel abroad as a tourist; to buy (or refuse to buy) consumer products from abroad (e.g. Polish ham, French wines, or Soviet caviar); to be a representative of one's national government in international transactions - are a few examples of the multiplicity of ways in which individuals function as actors within the world system.

Each of these "roles" can be performed with varying degrees of competence. Individuals can be more or less sophisticated in their understandings; they can be more or less skillful in making analytical judgments; and so on. The competence with which an individual performs these roles would seem to be a function of the capabilities or capacities he brings to the role, in much the same sense that the quality of an actor's performance is a function of the abilities he brings to his role within a play or movie.

What are the defining characteristics of competency? That is, in respect to each of these roles what qualities or characteristics distinguish the internationally competent citizen from the internationally incompetent citizen? Through an examination of the extant literature combined with our conversations with social scientists and educators, we endeavored to construct a partial profile or model of the internationally competent citizen. It is partial in the sense that clearly the profile does not capture all the qualities that might be legitimately associated with competency, but we hope that the model does serve to point up a selected number of qualities or characteristics that are particularly salient in considering the contribution which the K-12 currciulum can and should make to the international education of children and adolescents.

Individuals as the Possessors of Knowledge and Understanding of the World System

Looked at from the standpoint of being the possessor of knowledge about and understanding of the world system, what are the distinguishing characteristics of the internationally competent citizen?

First, there appears to be widespread agreement that the internationally competent citizen possesses a conceptual understanding of various phenomena within the world system. This is to say, his understanding of the system is in the form of an expanding fund of both increasingly abstract and increasingly detailed conceptualizations of the system and its component phenomena. This can be contrasted to understanding in the form of a body of memorized factual information. Needless to say, these two kinds of "understandings" are not mutually exclusive. A person developing an increasingly complex and rich body of conceptual understandings of given phenomena will also acquire an accumulating fund of more or less specific factual information about those phenomena. However, as so much of the "new social studies" literature points out, the converse can be true. That is, individuals can learn facts without a corresponding expansion in the abstractness, complexity, or richness of their conceptual understandings.

Another way of putting this point is to say that the internationally competent citizen possesses the capacity to think conceptually about various phenomena within the world system. He perceives or visualizes any phenomenon in two ways. He is capable of viewing it as one instance or one member of a more general (hence abstract) class or population of analytically comparable phenomena, and he is also capable of distinguishing between particular phenomena falling within the general class. For example, a student who can think conceptually about the American revolution can think of the American revolution as one instance of a more general phenomenon called revolution. He can, in short, perceive the American revolution as one member of a large population of revolutions. At an even more abstract level he can think of revolution (including the American revolution) as a sub-class of a more general phenomenon called political change. At the same time he locates the American revolution as one member of a population of events called revolutions, the student can discriminate the American revolution from the French, British, Mexican, Cuban, etc., revolutions.

Second, the internationally competent citizen possesses a global understanding of the world system and its component phenomena. By this we mean an understanding of the whole in contrast to simply a discrete understanding of the parts that comprise the whole. The meaning of this, and its implications for teaching, are easily illustrated by looking at the kind of understanding one seeks to develop in teaching about American society. In a course in American history, one might teach about Congress, about the courts, about the frontier, about differences between various geographical regions - in a word, about a hundred and one things. Except in the most extreme of "fact oriented" classrooms, the development of a fund of knowledge about particular objects within American society is not taken as the sole end of instruction. One does not, for example, have students compare the geography of the Great Plains and the geography of the Southeast simply to generate knowledge about these regions as separate entities. A teacher's objective in this case may be multiple. For instance, he may seek to develop an understanding of a given concept from geography or a given inquiry skill, but clearly one of the purposes behind having students study the two regions is to develop their understanding of the whole of which the regions are parts; in a word, to develop their understanding of American society as a society. Or to put the point a bit differently, the teacher is not simply seeking to develop the students' knowledge of particular differences between particular regions. Rather, he is seeking to expand students' understanding of regional variations as one feature or characteristic of the structure of American society. In the case of the world, it is a comparable kind of understanding of the world system perceived as a totality that characterizes the internationally competent citizen. Robert Harper makes this point in writing about international education in the context of geography.

> ...the whole world is more important than its parts. It is understanding of the world-wide system of humanity living on the earth that we want the student to grasp, not just an understanding of the parts - the regions that have been the center of the geographer's attention. The important thing is to see how it fits into the larger world system.
>
> This calls for a whole new approach in geography. No longer can we study the United States just in terms of learning its own characteristics and of comparing those characteristics with those of other parts of the...world with the aim of seeing similarities and differences. We must now see the United States as part of the world-wide system of ideas, goods and peoples.
>
> Of course, to understand the world as a whole, we must scrutinize the parts, but the aim is always to see the part in the context of the bigger whole.[6]

Harper's point is clearly not confined to world geography, but can be readily generalized to all dimensions of an individual's international understanding. For example, the internationally competent citizen's historical understanding is a global understanding that comes from treating mankind as the unit of analysis in contrast to particular national or regional groups within mankind. Leften Stavrianos describes it in this way:

> It means the perspective of an observer perched on the moon rather than ensconced in London or Paris or Washington. It means that for every period of history, we are interested in events and movements of global rather than regional or national significance. More specifically, it means the realization that in the classical period Han China was the equal of the Roman Empire in every respect; that in the medieval period the Mongols were infinitely more significant than the Magna Carta; that in early modern times Russia's expansion overland and Western Europe's expansion overseas were likewise more noteworthy than the Reformation or the Wars of Religion; and that today the globally significant developments have to do not with Cold War blocs and crises but rather with the passing of Western hegemony and the reversion to the traditional autonomy of the regions of the world.[7]

Mark Krug appears to have much the same kind of perspective in mind when he writes about a mankind-centered perspective in world history.[8]

Perhaps we might further illustrate what we have in mind by a global understanding. A student who has developed some global understanding of world economics does not simply perceive the world in terms of there being some rich nations and many poor nations; he can also visualize the matter in terms of the global distribution of the world's wealth. He can, in short, think of such a thing as the "world's total wealth" and visualize that wealth as being distributed among the human species. A student who can think globally about the world system does not simply think of trade between the U.S. and Britain, or trade between the Soviet Union and Italy, etc., but he can visualize these as particular elements in the overall global trading system. A student who can globally think of the world system does not simply know that different groups within the world speak different languages; he can also visualize the human species as a linguistically diverse species.

Third, the internationally competent citizen possesses a conceptually complex comparative understanding of the world system and its component phenomena. "Comparative understanding" implies a conceptual understanding in the sense discussed above. That is, it is a capacity to perceive, to think of, or to imagine any given phenomenon (be it a particular event, a particular social system, a particular biological species, a particular action, a particular planet, etc.) as one instance of a much larger population of analytically comparable events, social systems, etc., that can be compared with one another. It means the capacity to think of the migration of Europeans to America as one instance, or one example, or one case study of the general phenomenon of human migration. For example, a student who can think comparatively about European migration can (if provided with the necessary information) note similarities and differences between the migration of Europeans to North and South America and the earlier migration of Asiatic peoples to North and South America. More broadly, a capacity to think comparatively implies a capacity to think of the world system as one of what are very likely thousands of analytically comparable systems scattered about the universe; a capacity to think of mankind as one form of life in a much larger system of life; a capacity to think of the global system as a system which can be compared with human social systems at the sub-planetary level.

We use the adjective "conceptually complex" comparative understanding to refer to three particular kinds of capacities. One, it implies an awareness of the fact that any two or more things are not entirely alike or entirely different. Conceptual complexity implies an ability to perceive any two or more objects of comparison as being both alike and different at the same time. This point is succinctly made by Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray: "Every man is in certain respects

a. like all other men
b. like some other men
c. like no other man."[9]

What is true of individuals is also true of the other units of analysis in the social sciences - societies, social systems, cultural systems, historical events, historical eras, etc. For example, the

American revolution is like all revolutions in some respects, like some,but not all, other revolutions in still other respects, and in still other respects a unique historical experience. Or, American society shares some characteristics with some but not all other human societies, and it possesses some attributes which are uniquely American.

Two, conceptual sophistication implies an awareness of the influence of sampling on one's relative perception of differences and similarities. For instance, in the context of a fourth grade classroom, a teacher might tend to see more differences than simililarities between two fourth grade students. But, were the sample of observations expanded to include all elementary school children, her perception may reverse, and she might tend to see more similarities than differences between two fourth grade children. Similarly, in looking at nations in the modern world, a sample that included only the United States and the Soviet Union might lead observers to emhhasize the differences between the two societies and to play down the similarities. But were the sample expanded to include Chad, Burma, Haiti, and India, an observer might conclude that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., as highly developed industrial societies, are very much alike in many respects when compared to the less developed nations of the world.

Three, conceptual sophistication implies a capacity to view most differences as a matter of degree rather than of kind. For example, the internationally competent citizen does not think of political systems as being either democratic or not democratic; of economic systems as being either industrialized or non-industrialized; of societies as being either modern or not modern, etc. Rather, he is capable of seeing these (and most attributes in terms of which phenomena are described and differences noted) as complex properties which different units can possess in varying degrees. For instance, he can think of the world's national political systems as arranged along a graduated continuum from those that are highly democratic to those that are highly non-democratic.

Individuals as the Makers of Analytical Judgments

As indicated above, by analytic judgments we have in mind judgments about the nature of reality or fact; assertions about what is true or not true. They are, in short, judgments about the validity of empirical beliefs. Needless to say, all of us make innumerable analytic judgments every day. We do so for the simple reason that to believe is to make choices. Every belief (every image of any phenomenon) represents a choice from among alternative beliefs. To believe that the planet is round in shape is to choose from among alternative beliefs, e.g. it is flat, it is a cube, etc. To believe that economic development involves cultural change is to make a choice from among possible alternative beliefs, e.g. economic development is simply a matter of importing technological and managerial skills into a society, etc.

When individuals are viewed as the makers of analytical judgments, what are the defining characteristics of the internationally competent citizen? There is a massive volume of commentary dealing with analysis or inquiry within elementary and secondary schools. Our examination of this literature suggests that we might usefully view the schools as making two major (and related) kinds of contributions to the development of students' capacity to make reasoned analytical judgments. The first is the development of what might be termed a "realistic" attitude toward knowledge, and the other is the development of some understanding of, and skill in, the process of social scientific inquiry.

With respect to the first of these matters - attitude toward knowledge - it would seem that the internationally competent citizen possesses at least three capabilities. One, he is able to perceive or think of human knowledge in any area or in respect to any phenomenon as a corpus of man-created images or hypotheses which is subject to continuous change through the processes of (a) abandoning or discarding traditional beliefs, (b) redefining or reformulating traditional beliefs, and (c) creating new beliefs. Closely linked to the cognitive ability to perceive or think of knowledge in this way is an emotional capacity to live with tentativeness or the absence of finality or certainty, and a tolerance of ambiguity about what constitutes warranted or unwarranted beliefs.

Two, the internationally competent citizen is aware of the fact that any phenomenon can be conceptualized in a multiplicity of ways. For example, a phenomenon like violence can be analyzed from several perspectives, e.g. in terms of the biology, the psychology, or the sociology of violence. As a result, surrounding any phenomenon, there can be many different kinds of beliefs which provide alternative but not necessarily conflicting images of the phenomenon in question. In short, the internationally competent citizen realizes that the problem of human knowledge in general is like the knowledge problem faced by the blind men who sought to describe an elephant from information about the shape of different parts. Because of his awareness of the problem of perspective, the internationally competent citizen is capable of entertaining alternative conceptualizations, and of exploring alternative frames of reference or models of analysis in examining any phenomenon. For example, an internationally competent citizen is able to think about a phenomenon, such as sacred cows in India, from more than one perspective. He might, for instance, be able to think about sacred cows within the context of Hindu theology, within the context of the cultural history of India, within the context of the manifest and latent functions performed by the custom in different social systems within Indian society, and within the context of India's food problem.

Third, and related to the last point, the internationally competent citizen has some awareness of the sociology of knowledge - an ability to comprehend that perceptions and interpretations of the world are conditioned by the culture and social situation of the observer.

The second dimension of analytical competence consists of some conceptual understanding of, and skill in, the process of social scientific inquiry. An understanding of the process of inquiry would seem to entail the development of some understanding of:

1. The nature of analytical problems or questions in the social sciences.
2. The nature of and types of propositions or hypotheses found in the social sciences.
3. The nature of concepts and variables.
4. The logic and methodology of sampling.
5. The logic of measurement and the methods of data collection in the social sciences.
6. The logic of evidence in social inquiry.
7. The nature and uses of theory in social inquiry.

The development of skills in social inquiry seems to imply the development of the following kinds of abilities or capacities:

1. An ability to distinguish statements expressing descriptive beliefs, explanatory beliefs, predictive beliefs, and normative beliefs.
2. An ability to identify and formulate in question form analytical problems inherent in a set of data, or in an argument about a given phenomenon, and to critically appraise these formulations.
3. An ability to identify alternative beliefs about a given phenomenon and to state these beliefs in the form of explicit propositions or hypotheses.
4. An ability to recognize and to explicate the logical implications of hypotheses.
5. An ability to identify the concepts that must be defined and the variables that must be "measured" in order to empirically test propositions or hypotheses.
6. An ability to conceptually define these concepts and to think of or "invent" ways in which variables might be measured.
7. An ability to critically examine conceptual definitions and operational measures.
8. An ability to identify the kind and form of information or data that a test of propositions calls for; that is, the kind and form of data implied by proposed operational measures of variables.

9. An ability to collect, organize,and to evaluate data in terms of its apparent validity and reliability.

10. An ability to evaluate hypotheses or propositions in light of data, and then to accordingly reject them, modify them, or accept them.

11. An ability to relate two or more propositions together to form a "theory."

12. An ability to recognize or identify the logical implications of a theory.

13. An ability to judge or evaluate the merits of alternative theories.

Individuals as the Makers of Normative Judgments

Normative judgments, or evaluations, are claims about the goodness or badness, the desirability or undesirability, the appropriateness or the inappropriateness of given phenomena. Normative judgments would appear to contain two major elements: One of these can be termed value claims (or value judgments), and the other, performance claims (or appraisals). The first of these consists of assertions about the qualities, characteristics, or properties in terms of which a given phenomenon is to be judged, appraised, or evaluated. The second element is assertions that a given phenomenon does or does not possess or exhibit the desired qualities, characteristics, or properties. For example, the assertion that "Mary X would not make a good wife because she cannot cook," is a normative judgment. It consists, on the one hand, of the value claim that women as prospective wives are to be judged as good or bad bets in terms of the quality, "ability to cook," and on the other hand, it contains the appraisal that Mary X lacks this essential quality. To take a somewhat more complex illustration: "Nation-states are historically outmoded forms of political organization because they cannot, under conditions imposed by modern weapons technology, provide a high level of security from violence." The value claim in this judgment consists of the assertion that forms of political organization are to be judged as good or bad in terms of their capacity to provide a high level of security from violence. The performance claim or appraisal consists of the assertion that nation-states no longer possess this valued quality; that is, they cannot provide a high level of security from violence.

When individuals are viewed as the makers of normative judgments, what are the defining characteristics of the internationally competent citizen? As noted before, most evaluations or normative judgments in everyday life are in the form of attitudes. There is a vast body of literature dealing with the desirable qualities of international attitudes. As with other areas of concern, we have tried to crystallize what, in our judgment, seem to be the major points made in the arguments we have read and in the commentary we have listened to.

One, the internationally competent citizen is emotionally capable of making relatively rational, normative judgments. This seems to be a primary objective of what is sometimes referred to as the "mental hygiene" approach to education for international understanding. The emphasis is upon the cultivation of mentally or emotionally healthy individuals who are psychologically free to perceive, and hence to evaluate, the world around them with a modicum of objectivity or rationality. Rationality, or more accurately rational judgments, in this context would seem to mean judgments characterized by emotional commitments congruent with the values that a person or group is seeking to realize. An evaluation is non-rational to the degree that it involves an emotional commitment to a course of action, to an institution, to a policy, etc., which is either unrelated to the values being sought or is actually destructive of these values. In short, rational evaluations are evaluations grounded, on the one hand, in a clear image of the values a person seeks to realize, and on the other hand, in an accurate perception of reality. In contrast, non-rational evaluations are grounded in a false consciousness of the values that are most important to the person, and/or in false perceptions of reality. Non-rational evaluations tend to derive from efforts to satisfy one's personality needs, or from one's desire to comply with the opinions dominant in important reference groups. In a word, to judge something good or bad because such judgment satisfies one or more ego needs, or to judge it good or bad because the judgment complies with the opinion of important reference groups, is to evaluate non-rationally. In contrast, to judge something good or bad because there is "good reason" to believe that it is supportive or destructive of specified values, even though the judgment fails to comport with what one wishes were the case or with what one's reference groups deem to be true, is to evaluate rationally.

Two, the internationally competent citizen is capable of analyzing normative conflicts in terms of the sources of disagreement that give rise to the conflict in question. This would seem to imply a an ability to distinguish semantic sources of disagreement (i.e. disagreement generated by different usages or meanings of words); empirical sources of conflict (i.e. conflict arising from divergent perceptions of reality); and value conflicts (i.e. conflict arising from differences in value claims, that is, differences in the values or qualities in terms of which a given phenomenon is to be judged). For example, in the context of international education a student who had developed a capacity to analyze normative arguments in terms of the sources of conflict would be able to discriminate between the following kinds of disagreements:

A. Claims:	U.S. withdrawal from Viet Nam would substantially increase the probability of World War III.
B. Counter-claims:	U.S. withdrawal from Viet Nam would decrease the likelihood of World War III.

....

C. Claims: Nation X is more democratic than Nation Y because Nation X has had more free elections.

D. Counter-claims: Nation X cannot be more democratic than Nation Y because Nation X has no social welfare programs.

....

E. Claims: It is important to increase spending for space exploration because if we don't the Soviet Union will outrun us in the space race.

F. Counter-claims: It is important to reduce space spending so as to have more money for an attack upon human problems in urban areas.

The disagreement between A and B reflects different perceptions of reality. In the second instance, C and D are in disagreement because of different definitions or conceptions of what "democracy" implies. In the last case, E and F disagree because of differences in the values in terms of which the space program is to appraised (or at least a difference in the priority assigned to different values).

Three, the internationally competent citizen is capable of making explicit evaluations or reflective judgments. Explicit evaluations can be defined as evaluations:

1. Characterized by an explicit specification of the values, criteria or standards in terms of which specified phenomena are to be judged good or bad, desirable or undesirable, etc.

2. Characterized by the specification of behavioral definitions or observable indicators of these values or criteria.

3. Characterized by the specifications of means by which the necessary information or data needed for judgment can be obtained.

To illustrate what we have in mind, let us first look at an example somewhat removed from the complexity of social evaluation. Let's imagine that we are evaluating used cars in preparation for puschasing one. What would a reflective evaluation look like?

The first task would be to clearly specify the values or criteria in terms of which the relative goodness or badness, desirability or undesirability, of alternative cars are to be judged. This may be difficult or it may be easy, but in either case it is an essential first step in the process of reflective evaluation. For the sake of the illustration, let's imagine that we specify three values (qualities) that are important to us for a used car to possess:

1. Economy of operation.
2. Relative newness.
3. Sufficient size to comfortably seat six passengers.

These qualities constitute values in the sense that they are the criteria or standards in terms of which the relative acceptability or unacceptability of alternative cars will be appraised.

The next step in the process of reflective evaluation is to develop behavioral measures or observable indicators of these values. For example, what constitutes economy of operation? What are the observable differences between a car that has a great deal of this quality and a car that has very little of this quality? Economy of operation, taken by itself, is an abstract phrase which, like social values, such as freedom, justice, equality, etc., have no clear-cut behavioral meaning. To define such concepts we must specify what can be looked at in order to determine if an object does or does not possess a desired value. In the case of the automobiles, the popular culture readily supplies us with one indicator or behavioral definition of the value of "economy of operation." Miles traveled per gallon of gasoline used is a widely used indicator of economy of operation. The greater the ratio of miles traveled to volume of gasoline consumed, the greater the car's economy of operation. There are, of course, other indicators of economy. One of these is the likelihood of a given kind of repair being needed within a specified period of time, but enough has been said to illustrate the point being made. To use a value like economy of operation as a standard for judging cars, we must develop operational measures or behavioral indicators of this value. A value left in its vague unspecified sense does us little good in reaching a judgment about the relative goodness or badness of an object that is being appraised.

The next step in the process of reflective evaluation is that of specifying how the information or data necessary for an appraisal can be obtained. Let us look at the illustration of the car. We have specified economy of operation as one of three values in terms of which cars are to be judged, and we have specified that economy of operation can be measured in terms of the number of miles traveled per gallon of gasoline consumed. Let's imagine that we are trying to judge between two cars. To reach a judgment, we must get information about the relative performance of the two cars in respect to their economy of operation. How might we do this? If we trust the automobile dealer, and if we have reason to believe that he has the information, we could get the necessary performance data by simply asking the dealer, "How many miles per gallon does car X get; does car Y get?" On the other hand, if these conditions do not hold, a more complex information-collecting process is called for. For example, we might have to test-drive the two cars under equivalent traffic conditions, and directly observe how many miles each car travels per gallon of gas used.

Equipped with information about the performance of the two cars relative to the three values in terms of which the cars are being judged, we then would be in a position to make a reflective judgment about the relative goodness of the two alternative automobiles.

At this point the question of what happens if the outcome of the evaluational process is ambiguous can be raised if, for example, car A is found to be economical but small and old, etc. The evaluation must be "escalated" in the sense that we now must consider new and more general values. In the case of a conflict situation in which all three values cannot be equally satisfied---that is, we cannot simultaneously have economy, size and newness---then a judgment must be reached about the relative priorities of the three values. To raise this question is to pose the question of what values should be appealed to in assessing the relative importance of economy, of newness and of size. With this, the process of evaluation as outlined above begins all over again, but in a more complex and general setting.

The illustration is, of course, a very simplified model of the process of reflective evaluation. Not only is a simple case selected, but the case is also treated simply. The evaluation of social phenomena is invariably more complex and the quality of reflectiveness is invariably more difficult to achieve. The simple case, however, highlights the essential elements or steps involved in the process of reflective evaluation, whether these be evaluations of used automobiles, washing detergents, or complex phenomena, such as poltical systems, public policies, systems of belief, etc. This has been nicely illustrated by Charles McClelland in a scenario depicting a classroom of the future with access to a computerized information storage and retrieval system.

> Student: Do you think the Russians are better than the Chinese?
> Teacher: In what way? What do you mean when you ask, are they better?
> S: Well, do the Russians make more good things for the people---like cars, movies, refrigerators? Maybe Russians have more good things to eat?
> T: Make a list of what all you think are "good things;" let me go over your list and then you can ask the computer for information.
> Computer: The data requested are as follows...
> S: (Studying the printout) See, the Russians are better.
> T: Yes, but you still didn't check to see how much better. You didn't think to find out how many people there are in each country, how much income they receive, who gets what you call "good things," and whether or not China is making faster progress than Russia in producing the products on your list. Are you sure you think that being able to make and use things like cars would make the Russians better than the Chinese? But first you should get the additional information from the machine. You should write your questions so you can find out what the average person receives in both countries; also try the lowest 25% and the highest 25%. Do you know how to do that? Remember to convert to $ equivalents.

S: Yes

C: The distribution of passenger motor vehicles in the USSR is....etc.

S: I'll have the computer compare all this to the United States. Then I'm going to try to get information on two more things: Are Russians happier than the Chinese, and do Russians have more freedom than the Chinese? When I do that, I am going to get the facts about the happiness and freedom for the United States and Sweden too, just to make it more interesting.

T: You can't think of any way to show happiness, can you? You can think about that while you finish the comparison for the United States on your products, population, income, and the dollar and per capita problems.

S: I already know what to try for happiness. I'll use suicides, vacations people take, people in hospitals, murder, divorces, orphans, how long people live on the average, and maybe public opinion polls on what people say they worry about in all four countries. And, for freedom, I can check on elections, voters, churches, newspapers, how many people get to travel to other countries, and things like that.

T: That's good, but you probably will have some problems. Just think about your indicators; you will have to convince me that they really stand for the things you say they stand for.

C: The requested data are not available as follows...

S: I have empty cells for vacations, churches and polls for the Peoples Republic of China. There are some funny things too in the happiness index for Sweden and the USSR. I think Swedes are happier than the Russians but the picture is mixed up. What do I do now?

T: Which are you going to believe -- your personal impressions or your findings? You should know by now that interpreting your printouts is the hard part. There are validity problems with all sets of indicators; you will learn in high school how to estimate the probable amount of error in your aggregated data and some ways to correct for it. Do the best you can with what you have now. What are you going to do about your empty cells? You didn't get anything on Chinese vacations. How is that to be explained?

S: Our computer just doesn't know that. Or maybe they don't have vacations. Or maybe their government doesn't let out the information. That would be good for the freedom index -- if I could find out what information is censored by the government. I guess the Chinese don't have vacations. I'll just drop vacations.

T: It is possible that there are some data estimates on religion in China. If you want to follow that, I'll approve a question on the central network.

S: I'll fill out the form.

Later.

S: I have everything completed now to show how Russia is better than China, but I don't think I can really decide. Anyway, the program turned out another way when I added the U.S. and Sweden.

T: Go ahead and write your summary. Keep to the facts that you actually used and don't add a lot of statements about matters that you did not investigate. Show your conclusions but indicate which ones you are sure about and which ones are less reliable, no matter how much you like them. Your choice of the original question was a poor one but I let you go ahead to see if you could correct it. You did fairly well. Next time you program see if you can't make a series of more important and interesting comparisons. Maybe you could follow up on David Smith's investigation of laws in five countries which restrict individual freedom. Since you started on freedom, you should look into it more fully. You could analyze freedom of speech and press for maybe, ten countries in the Atlantic area and see what generalizations about legal restriction can be made for 1900 to the present. I think the computer has all the information you need.

Four, the internationally competent citizen is capable of making "humane" evaluations. We use the term "humane" to refer to a complex set of presumably related qualities frequently mentioned in the international education literature. Humane evaluations are defined as evaluations characterized by:

1. A relative freedom from the influence of egocentric thinking. Egocentric thinking can be defined as thinking proceeding from the assumption that others see the world in the same way that we see it. Thus, if we perceive our actions to be good, peaceful, generous, benevolent, etc., others must see in our behavior the same qualities. For example, if one sees American foreign aid as an expression of American benevolence and concern, and is egocentric in his thinking, he unreflectingly assumes that his perception of American aid is the only possible perception and, hence, the recipient of the aid will also perceive it as an expression of benevolence and concern. Thus, the recipient can be expected to reciprocate with expressions of gratitude. When recipients fail to do this, they must be judged ingrates suffering from a moral deficiency, and not deserving of continued respect and concern.

2. A relative freedom from ethnocentric thinking. Ethnocentric thinking is closely related to egocentric thinking and is probably indistinguishable from it in most situations. Ethnocentrism is the tendency to think of the actions, customs, institutions, ideologies, etc., of the particular groups to which one belongs as superior to the actions, institutions, etc., of outside groups. Herodotus provides an excellent working definition of ethnocentrism in observing that:

> ...if one were to offer men to choose out of all the customs in the world such as seemed to them best,

> they would examine the whole number, and end by preferring their own; so convinced are they that their own usages far surpass those of all others...

3. A relative freedom from stereotypic thinking. Stereotypic thinking can be defined as thinking which is dominated by the use of universal and closed generalizations about, or characterizations of, some group, process, social institution, culture, ideology, etc.

4. "Dimensionally complex" comparisons. Normative judgments reflecting "dimensionally complex" comparisons are evaluations that reflect an awareness of the fact that any phenomenon of any complexity can (and normally should) be judged by not one but many standards, and that a phenomenon so judged can be judged "good" in some respects and "bad" in other respects. Thus the United States may be judged inferior to several other societies in some respects (e.g., relatively high rate of infant mortality compared with several European nations) and be judged comparatively superior to other societies in still other respects (e.g., a high level of agricultural productivity).

5. Empathic thinking. Empathy can be generally defined as a capacity to "step into another's shoes" and accordingly perceive of the world as others perceive it. It is an ability to sympathetically imagine how an action, an institution, an event, etc. appears to other persons who look at the phenomena from a cultural or situational context different from one's own. Evaluations characterized by empathy would seem to be generally identifiable by the absence of ridicule and of assumptions of stupidity and/or immorality on the part of the individuals or groups whose actions, institutions, beliefs, etc. are being evaluated.

6. "World-minded" thinking. By "world-minded" thinking we have in mind a general perception of and value orientation toward the world that proceeds from a world view of the problems of humanity. It is an ability to identify with mankind in general rather than simply one's own national, racial, religious groups, etc. in judging international phenomena.

Individuals as Foreign Policy Analysts and Critics

As indicated in Chapter I of the report the international system is undergoing a series of significant changes. However, nation-states continue to be major centers of decision-making within the international system, and hence one of the major ways in which individuals participate in the international system are as analysts and critics of the foreign policy decisions of their national governments. What are the distinguishing characteristics of the internationally competent citizen viewed as a policy analyst and critic? There is not a great deal of literature focused explicitly upon this matter. Our examination of what there is, combined with conversations with educators and social scientists, suggest two related points.

First, the internationally competent citizen possesses some knowledge of how foreign policy decisions are made. He has, in short, some understanding of the structure and process of foreign policy decision-making, particularly within his own nation.

Second, the internationally competent citizen is able to analyze foreign policy decisions in terms of the major factors operating within the decisional process, and to make judgments about particular decisions (actual or proposed) in light of these factors. This would appear to imply an ability to analyze and to judge decisions in terms of the following kinds of questions:

1. Will this decision really help attain my country's goals?
2. Will this decision work out well, given other nations' goals and possible actions?
3. Do we have the resources to carry out this action in wealth, war-power, other nations' support, etc.?
4. Does this action fit the economic situation of my nation and its allies?
5. Will the politicians and public support this action?
6. Will this action create important military risks for us and our allies?
7. Will this line of action seriously endanger future international cooperation or the welfare of the human race?
8. Is this action realistic, given what is known about the feelings, fears, or attitudes of other countries and their leaders?
9. Is this action moral or immoral in terms of any one of my country's deepest beliefs?
10. Given the situation as analyzed, is this an action where benefits outweigh risks and costs? Does it need to be done at this time?[10]

Individuals as Observers of Current History

In an era of mass communication when virtually all Americans are linked to worldwide environment through radio, TV, and a massive system of news-gathering, one of the major ways in which an individual relates to the world system is as an observer of the system's current history. Viewing individuals in this role, what are the defining characteristics of the internationally competent citizen? In our judgment three points seem to stand out.

First, the internationally competent citizen possesses an interest in current events; that is, the motivation to seek out information about current history.

Second, the internationally competent citizen possesses the vocabulary and conceptual understandings necessary to follow current events through the news media, T.V. specials, and in semi-scholarly commentary in newspapers and magazines.

Third, the internationally competent citizen possesses some knowledge and understanding of the communication system that links him to events, developments, decisions, etc. occurring in his international environment. This would seem to include some understanding of how "the news" is collected and processed by the news services, newspapers, and radio and T.V. stations; some knowledge of how this type of media influences the content of "the news"; and some knowledge of the situational, sociological, and psychological factors which influence what "news" an individual is exposed to and how he reacts to it.

Individuals as Actors

Individuals relate to the world system in all the ways just discussed. In addition, they are actors within the system. When individuals are viewed from this perspective, what qualities are evidenced by, or in, the actions of internationally competent citizens?

Our efforts to deal with this question elicited a wide range of responses, but there are five general points which in our judgment stand out as being particularly important. To begin with, the internationally competent citizen evidences in his interaction and relation with others a sensitivity to and a tolerance, if not positive acceptance, of cultural diversity. Minimally, this would seem to mean that he does not through ignorance or indifference act so as to deprecate or ridicule individuals or groups culturally different from himself. In a word, he evidences a respect for the customs, beliefs, and life styles of others. And beyond this, the reactions of the internationally competent citizen evidence a "cosmopolitan enjoyment" of cultural diversity.

Second, the actions of the internationally competent citizen evidence a capacity to emotionally and intellectually cope with change. This would seem to include: (a) a perception of change as a natural or inevitable feature of the human condition; (b) a capacity to think of change in terms of its systemic causes and effects; and (c) an openness to, or pro-attitude toward, change combined with a sensitivity to the social and psychological costs of change, and a supportive attitude toward efforts designed to compensate the "victims" of change.

Third, the internationally competent citizen evidences in his actions a sensitivity to and acceptance of the "foreign policy implications" of mankind's growing interdependence. For Americans particularly, this would seem to imply, on the one hand, a recognition of the limits of national power and, on the other hand, an acceptance of an obligation to assist in the economic development of the developing two-thirds of mankind.

Fourth, the internationally competent citizen evidences in his actions multiple group loyalties. He does not feel that any one group within mankind (whether it be a nation, a race, a religion, a "civilization," a socio-economic class, etc.) can legitimately command a monopoly of obligation, loyalty, or identification. He perceives himself as being a morally responsible member of many human groups at the national, sub-national, and supranational levels of human social organization. Intimately linked to the ability to perceive oneself as a responsible member of many human groups is an emotional capacity to tolerate a relatively high level of ethical or moral ambiguity and inter-role conflict.

Fifth, the internationally competent citizen evidences a capacity to emotionally tolerate continued conflict and tension within national and international communities. Rather than eliminating human tension and conflict, the increasing interdependence of the human species is very likely to lead to increased tension and conflict. Thus, it would seem that one of the characteristics of the internationally competent citizen is a capacity to act with restraint in the face of tension and conflict.

Summary

In this section of this chapter we have endeavored to deal with the question of the qualities or characteristics which distinguish or define the internationally competent citizen. We approached this question by first suggesting that individuals occupy six major kinds of roles in relation to the world system. Then on the basis of a review of existing literature and conversations with educators and social scientists, we attempted to specify for each "role" what seemed to be judged as qualities, characteristics, or capacities that distinguish the internationally competent citizen from the less competent citizen.

V. A Typology of Objectives

As indicated previously, we endeavored to explicate the concept of international understanding in terms of "objects" and "dimensions" of understanding as a means of constructing a typology of objectives that ought to be served by the K-12 curriculum (particularly social studies) in the international education of children and young people. Specifically, we sought to develop a typology that:

(1) was relatively comprehensive in the sense of pointing up a range of phenomena frequently noted by educators and social scientists as desirable outcomes of world affairs education.

(2) would provide a conceptual foundation potentially useful in the planning and development of future curricula. We interpreted this to mean that the typology should: (a) indicate major classes of conceptually defined phenomena that should be made subjects of teaching-learning resources; and summarize a set of characteristics, some combination of which should be evidenced by newly developed teaching-

learning materials; and (b) provide a conceptual base for the development of instruments useful in evaluating curriculum systems as agents of international education; and (c) provide a foundation on which to construct continuing inventories or catalogues of available teaching-learning resources in the field of international education.

(3) would point to or inventory major social-psychological phenomena that should be the objects of basic research in the study of pre-adult international socialization.

(4) would serve as a partial guide in the planning of new programs in teacher education. We interpreted this to mean that the typology should point to major phenomena that ought to be covered in the academic preparation of teachers, and suggest major classes of teaching skills or strategies that should be developed in the course of the teachers' professional preparation.

With these considerations in mind, the following typology of objectives was developed.

I. The K-12 curriculum should develop students' knowledge or cognitive understanding of the world system. This implies:

  A. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of the earth as a planet. This implies:

    1. Developing some comprehension of the place of the world system in cosmic space and time. This implies:

      a. Some understanding of the location of the earth in the cosmic system.

      b. Some understanding of the cosmological and geological histories of the planet.

      c. Some understanding of the differences and similarities between the earth and other planets (actual and imagined).

    2. Developing some understanding of the earth as a set of physical systems that both condition and are conditioned by living systems and particularly man. This implies:

      a. Some understanding of the planet's contemporary geography and geology.

      b. Some understanding of the interactions between the planet's physical characteristics and the evolution of life, and particularly man's biocultural development.

B. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of mankind as a species of life. This implies:

1. Developing a comparative understanding of man as one of many living systems. This implies:
    a. Some understanding of similarities and differences between living and non-living systems.
    b. Some understanding of similarities and differences between man and other living systems.
2. Developing an understanding of basic human commonalities. This implies:
    a. Some understanding of man's common biological needs.
    b. Some understanding of the functional needs of human societies and their component social and cultural systems.
    c. Some understanding of similarities, analogies, or parallels in the historical experience of different groups.
3. Developing an understanding of the sources of differences in human actions and life styles. This implies some understanding of human behaviors as being socially learned and culturally conditioned.
4. Developing some understandings of basic human behavior and social activities that are grounded in the behavioral sciences. This implies:
    a. Some behavioral science-based understanding of particular human behaviors.
    b. Some understanding of human beings as biological systems, as personality systems, as actors in social systems, as "products" of cultural systems, and as participants in systems of natural ecology.
5. Developing some understanding of major structural characteristics of the human species. This implies the development of some understanding of the phenomena summarized by the following kinds of generalizations:
    a. The human species is a racially diverse species.
    b. The human species is a linguistically diverse species.
    c. The human species is a culturally diverse species.

        - d. The human species is an institutionally diverse species.
        - e. The human species is generally an economically depressed species, but with vast disparities in the wealth, education, health, etc., enjoyed by its members.
        - f. The human species is a politically uncentralized (or stateless) species.
        - g. The human species is demographically a rapidly expanding species.
        - h. The human species is an increasingly urbanized species.
        - i. The human species is an increasingly violent species.
        - j. The human species is an increasingly industrialized (mechanized) species.
        - k. The human species is an increasingly interdependent species.
    - 6. Developing some "species-centered" or "globally-focused" understanding of major events, trends, transformations, etc. in man's biological evolution and socio-cultural development.
    - 7. Developing some understanding of the process and dynamics of socio-cultural change within particular societies and within the human species in general.
- C. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of the international or global social system as one level of human social organization. This implies:
    - 1. Developing some understanding of the major entities that comprise the contemporary international system. This implies:
        - a. Some comparative understanding of the modern world's some 130 nation-states.
        - b. Some functionally oriented understanding of cross-national organizations both governmental and non-governmental.
        - c. Some understanding of the international status of the planet's polar regions, its oceans, and outer space.

2. Developing some historical understanding of the nation-state system as one of many historical and imaginable forms of politically organizing the human species.

3. Developing some understanding of major social processes within the international system. This implies:

   a. Some understanding of inter-nation conflict and conflict resolution.

   b. Some understanding of inter-nation war.

   c. Some understanding of inter-nation collaboration and integration.

   d. Some understanding of inter-nation communications and transportation.

   e. Some understanding of inter-nation trade, investment, and foreign aid.

   f. Some understanding of cultural diffusion.

   g. Some understanding of the processes of inter-nation influence or power.

4. Developing some understanding of major international social problems. This implies:

   a. Some understanding of the problems of controlling or managing inter-group, particularly inter-nation, violence and of creating institutions for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

   b. Some understanding of the problem of controlling population growth.

   c. Some understanding of the problems of "modernizing" developing societies.

   d. Some understanding of the problems of controlling the social and psychological costs of rapid socio-cultural change, particularly technological change, urbanization, and the bureaucratization of social organizations.

   e. Some understanding of the problems of controlling further deterioration in man's natural environments.

   f. Some understanding of the problems of exploiting the resources of the world's oceans and outer-space for the welfare of mankind in general.

I. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to view the world system as a whole, and particular phenomena within it, conceptually, comparatively, and globally. This implies:

   A. The curriculum should develop within students a perceptual or cognitive capacity to see or to think of empirically concrete or historically specific phenomena (events, institutions, actions, etc.) as particular instances or cases within a larger class of analytically comparable phenomena.

   B. The curriculum should develop within students an ability to compare two or more phenomena in a conceptually sophisticated way. This implies:

      1. An ability to conceive of two or more objects being compared in terms of both similarities and differences.

      2. An ability to recognize that one's relative perception of similarities and differences is influenced by the size and nature of the sample of objects being compared.

      3. An ability to think of differences as matters of degree rather than simply of kind.

   C. The curriculum should develop within students a capacity to think of or imagine the world as a totality and to perceive particular phenomena holistically or within a global frame of reference. This implies:

      1. Developing a comprehension of the interrelatedness of the human species *qua* species.

      2. Developing a comprehension of the interrelatedness of man as a system of life, and the planet earth as a set of interrelated physical systems.

      3. Developing a comprehension of the world system as one sub-system within the larger cosmic system.

III. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to make logically valid and empirically grounded analytical judgments. This implies:

   A. The curriculum should develop within students a "realistic" attitude toward knowledge. This implies:

      1. Developing within students an understanding of knowledge as a set of man-created hypotheses or images.

      2. Developing within students the capacity to conceptualize phenomena in alternative ways.

3. Developing within students awareness of the influence of cultural setting and social situation on human knowledge, and particularly an awareness of their own perception and interpretation of the world.

B. The curriculum should develop within students an understanding of, and some skill in, the process of social scientific inquiry. This implies:

1. Developing within students some understanding of the process of inquiry. This implies developing students' understanding of:

   a. The nature of analytical problems or questions in the social sciences.

   b. The nature of and types of propositions and hypotheses found in the social sciences.

   c. The nature of concepts and variables.

   d. The logic of measurement and the methodologies of data, or information acquisition, in the social sciences.

   e. The logic and methodology of sampling.

   f. The logic of evidence in social inquiry.

   g. The nature and uses of theory in social inquiry.

2. Developing students' inquiry skills. Included are:

   a. An ability to distinguish statements expressing descriptive beliefs, explanatory beliefs, predictive beliefs, and normative beliefs.

   b. An ability to identify and formulate in question form analytical problems inherent in a set of data or in an argument about a given phenomena, and to critically appraise these formulations.

   c. An ability to identify alternative beliefs about a given phenomena and to state these beliefs in the form of explicit propositions or hypotheses.

   d. An ability to recognize and to explicate the logical implications of hypotheses.

   e. An ability to identify the concepts that must be defined and the variables that must be "measured" in order to empirically test propositions or hypotheses.

f. An ability to conceptually define these concepts, and to think of or "invent" ways in which variables might be measured.

g. An ability to critically examine conceptual definitions and operational measures.

h. An ability to identify the kind and form of information or data that a test of propositions calls for; that is, the kind and form of data implied by proposed operational measures of variables.

i. An ability to identify and to evaluate possible sources of data.

j. An ability to collect, organize and to evaluate data in terms of their apparent validity and reliability.

k. An ability to evaluate hypotheses or propositions in light of data, and then to accordingly reject them, accept them, or modify them.

l. An ability to relate two or more propositions together to form a "theory."

m. An ability to recognize or identify the logical implications of a theory.

n. An ability to judge or evaluate the merits of alternative theories.

IV. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to make rational, analytical, explicit, and humane normative judgments or evaluations.

A. The development of a capacity to make rational evaluations implies: The curriculum should seek to develop individuals who are relatively free psychologically to hold attitudes independent of personality needs and group norms.

B. The development of a capacity to make analytical evaluations implies: The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to analyze normative disagreements in terms or semantic, perceptual, and valuational sources of conflict.

C. The development of a capacity to make explicit evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to explicitly articulate values in terms of which they

believe given phenomena should be judged.

2. The curriculum should develop the ability of students to explicitly consider operational or behavioral meanings of values in terms of judgments to be made.

3. The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to explicitly consider the information that is needed to reach sound judgments about whether a given object does or does not possess the desired value qualities.

D. The development of a capacity to make humane evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of egocentric perceptions.

2. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of ethnocentric perceptions.

3. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of stereotypic perceptions.

4. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by moral or ethical complexity.

5. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by a capacity for empathic understanding.

6. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by a "world-minded" value orientation.

V. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to understand and to critically analyze and judge foreign policy decisions. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop students' knowledge about, and conceptual understanding of, how foreign policy decisions are made, particularly within the American system.

B. The curriculum should develop students' ability to analyze foreign policy decisions in terms of the major factors operating within the decisional process and to make judgments about particular decisions (actual or proposed) in light of these factors. This implies an ability to analyze and judge decisions in terms of the following kinds of questions:

1. Will this decision really help attain my country's goals?

2. Will this decision work out well, given other nations' goals and possible actions?

3. Do we have the resources to carry out this action in wealth, war-power, other nations' support, etc.?

4. Does this action fit the economic situation of my nation and its allies?

5. Will the politicians and public support this action?

6. Will this action create important military risks for us and our allies?

7. Will this line of action seriously endanger future international cooperation or the welfare of the human race?

8. Is this action realistic, given what is known about the feelings, fears or attitudes of other countries and their leaders?

9. Is this action moral or immoral in terms of any one of my country's deepest beliefs?

10. Given the situation as analyzed, is this an action where benefits outweigh risks and costs? Does it need to be done at this time?

VI. The K-12 curriculum should develop students' capacity to intelligently and critically observe current history of the world system. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop within students an interest in current affairs, that is, a motivation to seek out information about world affairs.

B. The curriculum should develop within students the vocabulary and conceptual understanding needed to follow current events through the mass media, in T.V. specials, and in semi-scholarly magazines, etc.

C. The curriculum should develop within students an understanding of the structure and functioning of the international communication system that links citizens to events, developments, actions, etc. within their international environment.

VII. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to constructively adapt to the "realities of the human condition." This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop students' sensitivity to, and emotional acceptance of, diversity in human actions, perceptions, cognitions, valuations, and social institutions.

B. The curriculum should develop students' acceptance of, and a set of socially responsible attitudes toward, technological and socio-cultural changes.

C. The curriculum should develop students' sensitivity to and acceptance of the political and ethical implications of mankind's increasing interdependence.

D. The curriculum should develop students' capacity to experience multiple loyalties -- to perceive and feel themselves to be responsible members of sub-national, national, and cross-national groups.

E. The curriculum should develop students' capacity to emotionally tolerate the tensions of continued inter-group conflict and hostility.

CHAPTER III

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CURRICULUM MATERIALS IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A LOOK AT SELECTED TOPICS AND THEMES

Introduction

Most persons familiar with the social studies offerings in our schools would probably agree with the premise that the curriculum is largely determined by the quality and variety of printed materials available to be placed in the hands of the students. Stated more dramatically, for all practical purposes the printed materials that the students use are the curriculum.

Some may argue that curriculum is too complex a phenomenon to place so great an emphasis upon the role of only the printed materials. However, even if we assume for the moment that the teachers themselves or the total classroom experience -- not the printed materials -- are the most significant element in that which we label "curriculum", it would nonetheless be a serious oversight not to constantly keep in mind that most teachers rely almost exclusively upon printed materials as the basis for both their class activities and homework assignments. In most social studies classes, a single piece of printed material -- usually a commercially published textbook -- acts as the central focus. In addition, some teachers occasionally utilize various audio-visual aids and supplementary reading or research assignments. A few, more imaginative, teachers also use field trips, outside resource persons, educational TV, telelectures, simulation games, artifacts and multiple-text materials to enrich their teaching. Though increasingly seen, these kinds of activities are still not a regular part of the daily fare in the social studies diet of anywhere near the majority of American students. Teachers by and large still assign a sharply limited selection of printed materials prepared by a relatively small number of commercial publishers. In turn, students in formal in-class activities depend on these materials as their primary source of social science and historical data.

Fortunately for the social studies teacher, recent years have seen a rapid increase in both the number and the quality of the materials available from the commercial publishers. An analysis of the reasons for this increase is not within the scope of this paper; let it suffice to say, however, that publishers normally produce what they have reason to believe schools will buy. Larger amounts of money available for educational spending in the past several years have, as might be expected, encouraged publishers to produce an ever-increasing variety of better new materials.

Also related to the increasing flow of materials commissioned by the publishers themselves is still another development in the social studies field directly related to the larger expenditures of money for education -- that is, the new projects in this field. This second development may prove in the long run to have even a greater influence on what is being taught than what the publishers themselves are doing to change the social studies curriculum. To investigate the relationship between this second development and international education is the primary purpose of this chapter.

The Social Studies Projects

In recent years an increased national concern with the condition of elementary and secondary education has provided for the first time in our nation's history the resources necessary to allow a number of individuals and curriculum centers to begin developing new materials and teaching strategies specifically aimed at improving various segments of the social studies curriculum, grades K-12. These many diverse efforts have collectively come to be referred to by educators as "the Projects". The majority of these Projects have been funded by grants from the United States Office of Education.[1] In a few cases they have received funding from private sources.[2] Virtually all of the recent curriculum development efforts in social studies that have achieved national prominence are centered at one of the Projects. This is not to say that significant curriculum developments are not going on elsewhere; obviously they are. In fact, the majority of schools are engaged in altering, rearranging or modifying in some way their present social studies offerings, K-12. In most cases these local curriculum development efforts have not been carefully organized either on a systemwide or even on a schoolwide basis. Instead, these efforts reflect the needs and interests of individual teachers. Though these many diverse efforts are oftentimes not part of any grand design, eventually their total impact should be felt on what is actually being taught in American classrooms. On the other hand, however, because these efforts are both too numerous and too diverse for anyone to systematically analyze them, and also because they are unlikely ever to achieve any widespread dissemination nationally, this chapter will restrict itself to discussing selected materials from just those Projects that are intended to be of national interest in both their scope and outreach.

Kinds of Projects

For the purposes of this study the on-going Projects divide themselves into four general categories. First are those few that have placed their major emphasis upon some aspect of the international dimension; for example, the three that have been concerned with either Africa, Asia or Latin America.[3] These three Projects are, of course, central to our interests. Next -- and by far the majority of the Projects -- are those that have not been specifically concerned with material that is only internationally oriented. This group might include the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project;[4] the Social Studies Projects at the University of Minnesota,[5] the University of Illinois,[6] and Carnegie-Mellon University;[7] the Amherst Project;[8] and, the Project located at Providence, R.I.[9] Next, upon close examination we can identify several of the Projects that, while having devoted very little direct attention to the international dimension, have nonetheless produced units, ideas or models that have implications for this area. Here we can cite the Syracuse Project,[10] the Project at the University of Indiana,[11] and the several projects that deal primarily with economics.[12] We also will want to look at examples from these Projects. Finally, a few of the Projects have concentrated upon producing materials or subject matter units not generally relevant to our concerns. Materials from this last category will not be discussed.

The Aims of This Chapter

Very few curriculum planners or teachers possess an accurate picture of what the national Projects have produced. Keeping this fact in mind, this chapter will be an initial attempt to provide preliminary answers to just two questions:

1) What are some of the new kinds of materials and teaching strategies being produced by the Projects that directly relate to the international dimension of the curriculum, K-12?

2) Can some of these new materials be related to a series of broad themes or ideas that scholars have identified as being essential to understand what is in reality rapidly becoming a global society?

No attempt will be made to argue either for or against the validity of the series of themes or ideas being presented as the basic set of categories for our analysis of materials. By its inclusion it is assumed to be valid. The rationale for its use may be found in other chapters in this report.[13] This chapter will merely select a few themes or ideas considered essential by scholars for an understanding of the kind of global society we are actually living in at the present time, and (to the best of their limited ability to predict) the kind of world we are moving into in the future; and will attempt to relate a few of these themes or ideas to some of the materials that the Projects are producing.

A Note on Methodology and a Caution

Printed materials hold a paramount place in the present social studies curriculum. This chapter will therefore concentrate upon only the written materials from the Projects. In addition, although this chapter is concerned mainly with the products of the national social studies Projects, in a few cases materials developed by commercial publishers are mentioned. This is necessitated by the fact that a few of the themes selected from the list provided in the next section of this chapter have not, to this writer's knowledge, been systematically treated by the Projects.*

Finally, and most importantly, this chapter makes no claims to be definitive. It is not intended as a systematic survey of everything produced by all of the Projects.** Instead, it will attempt to cite only a few examples of Project-developed materials to indicate the kinds of materials that are potentially available to teach a number of important concepts about global society.

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*An additional comment is necessary regarding the Projects and commercially published materials. As of the time this paper was written, several of the Projects had turned over their materials to commercial publishers. However, throughout this paper all materials will be referred to as having been produced by a particular Project, not by a commercial publisher.

An Outline of Categories

People concerned with curriculum change and the selection of new materials need a checklist of major ideas to assist them. The following outline of categories has been developed in order to provide such a list. It is based upon three major sources: 1) the papers prepared by scholars for this Study; 2) the research and discussions of Dr. Lee Anderson and other members of the Study staff, and, 3) the needs of classroom teachers.

A word should be said about this final source. No one can presume to speak for all classroom teachers or their individual perceptions of their teaching needs. Certainly this paper is not intended as an attempt to do so. However, until there is an effort to bring some order to the process of the teachers' selection of ideas important enough to deserve classroom time, very little progress toward developing an awareness in students of a global society is likely to occur. This outline of categories is thus intended to provide educators with a rough checklist of the kinds of basic themes or ideas that should prove useful to guide in the selection of specific knowledge, attitudes, and understandings to be taught. In turn, if teachers are effective in their teaching and if students internalize these ideas, schools will graduate a generation of young people who are better able to understand and deal with the complex and interrelated challenges facing tomorrow's citizens. This outline of categories is explained in greater detail elsewhere in this Study.[14]

I. Man as a Species

  A. Similarities and differences that exist between man and other "objects"

    1. Man-animal comparisons
    2. Man-machine comparisons
    3. Man-interplanetary comparisons

  B. Human similarities and differences

    1. Materials designed to develop students' knowledge and understanding of the general sources of human similarities and differences; i.e., materials that stress the theoretical aspects.

**It was originally intended by the author not to be selective but to include an analysis of all of the Project materials that have been produced. Only after writing had begun was it found that other time requirements made this impossible. Therefore, in spite of the fact that only selected materials are cited in this paper, these citations are based upon the author's having read all of the Project materials available before January, 1969.

2. Materials designed to develop students' knowledge and understanding of particular kinds of differences; i.e.,

    a. Physical (Racial)
    b. Social systems (Political-economic-family)
    c. Cultural systems (Beliefs, values and language)
    d. Geographical

C. Societal changes over time, i.e., history

II. International Society

A. Groups to examine

1. Sub-national groups, e.g., comparisons of tribes or cities

2. Nations, e.g., area and country studies

3. Cross-national associations and institutions, e.g., the United Nations, regional economic unions, and international business firms

B. Social processes and problems to examine

1. Global processes of change

    a. Population growth
    b. Modernization (including all aspects of development)

2. International processes and exchanges

    a. Trade, aid and investment
    b. Migration
    c. Cultural diffusion
    d. International communication
    e. International transportation
    f. Conflict and collaboration
    g. Foreign policy decision-making
    h. Power, e.g., influence, diplomacy, negotiation propaganda, and military action

This list provides one kind of checklist of ideas about man and global society that teachers and other curriculum developers might use in their planning. For the purposes of this study, it provides a system helpful in sorting out the large number of new materials being produced by the Projects. No claim is made or intended that this outline of categories is either definitive or that it is the only useful scheme for an analysis of materials. Some of the ideas contained in this list are similar to those which appear elsewhere; some -- to this writer's knowledge -- are unique. Whether these ideas are "new" or "different" is neither as relevant to our present purposes nor as important in the long run as whether or not these kinds of ideas are being taught in our schools. Hopefully, enough specific relationships can be established between selected items from this list and the materials now being offered to teachers by the Projects to enable those responsible for the social studies curriculum to include a significant number of these ideas in the lessons being developed for students in grades K-12.

The Materials From the Projects

Keeping in mind the earlier stated twofold aims of this chapter -- i.e., What materials have been produced by the Projects?, and, Can these materials be related to the framework outlined above? -- we will next look at selected Project materials and see what relevance they may have for teaching about a global society. Two additional cautions, however, should be noted. Although every reasonable effort was made by the author and members of the School Services Staff of the Foreign Policy Association to obtain examination copies of all of the materials from each of the Projects, our search was not completely successful. Some Projects elected to send us only the short abstracts of their work that they use to answer the many general inquiries they receive. Others made only limited samples of their materials available for our study. A few frankly stated their fear of having untested and experimental materials judged as being representative of their best scholarly efforts and, therefore, decided not to share their work with us. The number of Projects that did cooperate with us has been gratifying. To use as a basis for this chapter, we have in our possession samples or complete copies of the vast majority of the materials available on January 1, 1969.

The producers of the materials have not been queried by us as to where they think their efforts might best be fitted into the above outline of categories. This was not done for a number of practical reasons. The simple reality that those producing materials for the Projects were not familiar with the work upon which the category list was based necessitated our taking the liberty of interpreting their efforts as we saw fit. If in the process any errors have occurred, it is our hope that they will enhance, rather than detract from, the reputations of the people who have produced the material that provides the basis of this chapter.

Teacher Receptivity to Project Materials

Before we look at some of the materials from the Projects, a word is necessary regarding the degree of willingness that teachers may -- or may not -- exhibit towards using the new Project materials. Other papers prepared for this Study have made reference to a number of themes or ideas that would better enable a person to function successfully as a member of what is rapidly becoming a global society. The scholars who have prepared these papers assume that if educators are genuinely concerned with producing students who possess an understanding of the concept of a global society, certain key ideas and themes which describe and illuminate that type of society should be taught in our classrooms. Although many people often suspect that the greater share of what any child "knows" about the world may be learned entirely outside of his formal educational experiences in school, nonetheless it seems reasonable to assume that the main burden for developing certain ideas, attitudes and understandings still falls upon the classroom teacher. Fortunately, certain of the ideas developed in the papers prepared for this Study can already be found in some curriculum guides now being used. However, in spite of the fact that some curriculum guides do mention certain of these ideas, a word of caution seems in order before we mistakenly assume that the presence of the ideas or themes in the guides available to the teachers naturally means that these ideas or themes will be taught. Two problems exist that should not be ignored by persons concerned with curriculum.

In the first place, very few teachers carefully follow the curriculum guides developed for them either by well-meaning curriculum specialists or teams of their fellow teachers. Rather, they tend to select from the guides those things they personally feel comfortable teaching and then proceed to spend the majority of their time concentrating on this selection. This process of individual selection by teachers must be treated as a "given" in any formula that attempts to accurately reflect what is being taught in the schools. Because of this practice, it is extremely optimistic -- if not downright irresponsible -- to assume that from sophisticated new project curriculum guides or materials these same teachers will suddenly select ideas, themes or content that they do not feel personally competent in handling. The teachers' habit of selecting out only the content they feel familiar with is a special problem facing those concerned with the subject of this chapter. Only a tiny minority of exceptionally resourceful teachers will tackle the complex and troubled international dimension of the curriculum unless they feel relatively confident about the challenges they may be likely to encounter in so doing. In spite of what the assigned curriculum guides may say about the world, it must always be remembered that teachers tend to teach what they know. Only a few of the teachers teaching today are informed enough about the many complexities of global society to feel secure in designing and carrying out their own individual lessons and courses of study. This is true in spite of their having available to them the new ideas and themes that scholars and relatively better informed curriculum writers often provide. Because of this unfortunate yet all too common situation, most teachers revert to the next best thing -- they select a textbook that purports to teach about various parts of our present world and then assign certain parts of it to their students. This practice leads directly to the second problem.

Many of the available textbook materials do not reflect the most recent scholarship in a subject field as complex and continually changing as world affairs. In support of this contention one has to look no further than a recent analysis of the available teaching units on China done under the auspices of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.[15] Experience with a wide range of other curriculum materials indicates that many of the serious omissions, distortions and factual errors identified by the scholars contributing to that study are not unique only to China. A recent survey of the available teaching materials on Africa[16] identified essentially the same kinds of problems. Numerous other studies could also be cited.

Teachers thus face two simultaneous problems: 1) dependency upon curriculum guides prepared by people who are frequently in a position to be relatively better informed than they are about current scholarship, and, 2) having to use commercially published materials that oftentimes contain built-in limitations. These two realities indicate a need to provide teachers with some sort of guidelines to assist them in selecting relevant ideas to teach from the curriculum guides and textbooks they may have available. The remaining sections of this chapter will attempt to relate selected materials from the Projects to some of the ideas of themes presented above in the outline of categories.

THE PROJECT MATERIALS

I. Man As A Species

I.A. Similarities and Differences Between Man and Other "Objects": In order to introduce students to the concept of a global society, it seems logical that at the onset some emphasis should be placed upon the fact that mankind is only one -- though in many ways a unique -- species of life among many other forms. Efforts by two of the Projects reflect a growing awareness of this need. Man-animal comparisons are significant components of the work of the Education Development Center's[17] upper elementary course, Man: A Course of Study. The course takes the child out of both his classroom and his neighborhood to aid him in understanding what is unique about himself as a human being. In an early outline of the course, Jerome Bruner indicated concern with man-animal comparisons when he wrote: "We seek exercises and materials through which our pupils can learn wherein man is distinctive in his adaptation to the world, and wherein there is discernible continuity between him and his animal forbears."

In the first unit, "Perspectives on Man and Other Animals", students observe the lives of other animals in ways that will help them think concretely about what being human means. Topics such as physical structure, group behavior, parental care and animal communication are included. Throughout these materials, emphasis is upon comparisons. Studies of the salmon and the herring gull provide contrasting views of parental care and a close look at a baboon troop offers insights into group organization, baboon growth patterns and the limitations of animal communication. The aim of the unit "is to explore the fact that survival is a common concern of all living organisms and the diversity of mechanisms used for insuring survival and the continuity of life".[18]

On a secondary level similar concerns are seen in the work of the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project.[19] Their sixteen-week unit, The Study of Early Man, will include materials that deal with the behavior patterns of a baboon troop. By first perceiving the structure of an animal group that possesses rather complex behavior patterns, it is hoped that students will then be in a better position to observe the structure of even more complex human groups. Later materials will deal more extensively with the pygmies of the Iturri Forest in order to provide data on a single human society. The contrasts between what students oftentimes erroneously assume to be a simple or primitive society -- the pygmies -- and that of a rather complex animal group -- the baboon troop -- provide sufficient data to allow some tentative generalizations on man-animal comparisons to be formulated by the student. Like the EDC materials, those of the ACSP encourage the student to develop hypotheses from raw data and then test these hypotheses for validity. A later unit in the ACSP materials entitled, "How To Tell An Ancestor When You Meet One", uses comparisons between the pelvic bones of one of man's earliest forerunners, Australopithecines, and the modern chimpanzee to develop some additional man-animal comparisons.

The Anthropology Curriculum Project[20] at the University of Georgia has also shown concern with limited man-animal comparisons. In their unit designed for use in grades three and six entitled, Cultural Change, part of the grade three materials deals with man's biological needs. Animal adaptations to needs similar to those of man are used as contrasts. Animal adaptations to their environment through evolutionary changes are also considered. The outline prepared for these two grades, dated June 15, 1966, indicates that "a brief summary of the evolution of man could be given, space permitting". This apparently indicates that man-animal comparisons -- in relation to evolutionary development -- could also be considered in this course and are left up to individual teacher discretion. The second course of the two-year sequence designed for grades two and five, The Development of Man and His Culture, is subtitled, Old World Perspectives. It places considerable emphasis upon organic evolution and fossil man; however, specific man-animal comparisons are not included in this material. The grade one and four courses, Concept of Culture, do refer to contrasts between human and animal adaptations to the environment. The Georgia Project materials do not devote the same degree of attention to man-animal comparisons as found in either the work of EDC or the ACSP. However, some attempts are made to focus student thinking upon such comparisons, and the nature of the materials themselves enables teachers to bring out a variety of specific comparisons and contrasts between man and other species.

Unfortunately, in spite of these initial efforts by three Projects, none of the widely used social studies materials now available from the commercial publishers devote any significant attention to man-animal comparisons. Teachers who wish to develop lessons or units centered around this idea must depend largely upon materials prepared specifically for science courses. These materials generally do not emphasize the social and cultural differences between the species; instead they largely restrict themselves to discussions of physiological differences. Teachers are therefore not likely to teach about man-animal comparisons until social studies materials treating this topic are widely available.

Another dimension of the comparative approach is the consideration of man in contrast to other "objects", for example, machines. None of the Projects have yet developed any materials that reflect such comparisons. The ever-increasing emphasis in our society on the use of the computer -- an extension of man's brain and thus by definition a "machine" -- would seem to indicate that elementary materials might introduce some rudimentary contrasts. Units or lessons that deal with other kinds of machines designed to extend and amplify man's control over his total environment might also provide some useful contrasts between the ability of man and other species. Both the Georgia Anthropology Project and the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project have included materials on toolmaking in their work. However, in neither case is the emphasis primarily upon man-machine (or tool) comparisons. The primary emphasis in both cases is instead placed upon the cultural and physiological changes which resulted when early man became capable of extending his powers by producing weapons and tools.

A final category of contrasts between man as a species and other "objects" is the whole area of man-interspace life comparisons. The Projects have not developed materials with this focus either. Our better science fiction probably provides teachers with the best available material that deals with man-interspace comparisons. In an era when man's ability to travel to the moon and beyond is within the consciousness of virtually every school child and when children are being literally bombarded from every direction with references to things concerning space, it would seem appropriate that social studies materials should at least begin to deal with this topic.

With the exception of the few items noted above, materials specifically designed to show man-animal, man-machine or man-interspace life comparisons have, as yet, not been developed by any of the Projects. Commercial textbook publishers have also neglected these topics.

I.B. Human Similarities and Differences: A considerable body of social studies literature encourages teachers to teach about commonalities within the human species. Nowadays most elementary textbooks devote at least some space to developing this general theme. However, if one looks at the materials designed for use in secondary schools a rather different situation is seen to exist. Although it seems logical that students would require some knowledge of mankind's biological and psychic unity if they are expected to function effectively as members of a global society, not all students are enrolled in courses that deal with human commonalities. Those courses, such as psychology, sociology and anthropology, where one expects this topic to be dealt with enroll only a small percentage of the students. The world history and world culture courses, that enroll a larger percentage of the students, often neglect to emphasize this theme. By failing to consider human commonalities, most available text materials seriously proscribe the teachers' opportunity to meaningfully handle this general theme. The only major exceptions to this generalization are the textbooks by Ethel Ewing[21] and Leften Stavrianos.[22] Both of these texts do attempt to establish the kind of frame of reference necessary to enable teachers to make meaningful comparisons between societies. Paul Thomas Welty's more recent textbook[23] also facilitates some comparisons of this nature.

None of these three books, however, are specifically oriented to show the commonalities that exist within the human species. Instead, they are organized in a way that permits cross-societal comparisons. And, whether it was intended or not, they tend to stress differences -- not similarities. This is not surprising since the treatment of human differences has always received a considerably higher degree of emphasis in both elementary and secondary materials. Unfortunately, this emphasis has frequently been the result of implication or default and not the result of any organized attempt to stress the existing differences by those writing the materials. Taking racial differences as an example, we can see that this is true because of the fact that many textbooks have included large quantities of drawings and photographs of what were supposed to be representative samples of typical members of different racial groups. These visual efforts have not only conveyed to students in an extremely graphic manner the physical differences that do exist between the races, but have simultaneously overemphasized these differences. The great variations within the major racial groups have been completely ignored in virtually all of the materials published in the past. The prevalence in our society of jokes that depend upon the supposed difficulty in telling one member of a particular racial or national group from another, can probably be partly attributed at least to the stereotyped manner in which the visual materials in our textbooks have represented the various races. Students at all levels, even the so-called non-readers, do look at the pictures in their textbooks -- particularly when all of the publishers strive to make the visual component of their materials as eye-catching as possible. In the final analysis it is likely that the visual materials included in most textbooks, along with the powerful influence of the public media and the home, have left students with distorted images of human differences that override the few countervailing attempts by their textbooks to emphasize human similarities. Given this background, the question facing us is: What have the Projects produced that attempts to deal with the broad area of human differences and similarities?

The Treatment of Race in the Projects

The Outline of Categories developed earlier includes physiological differences as one of the four sub-headings to be considered under the major heading of "Human Similarities and Differences". Since racial differences are the area of greatest present concern under this category, let us consider how the Projects have handled this topic. Many of the Projects have produced materials that deal with this difficult topic in an extremely thoughtful manner reflecting current scholarship far more accurately than many of the materials have in the past. In addition to their greater accuracy and objectivity, the new Project materials are also available in sufficient quantity to enable a teacher to choose the approach that best fits the needs of his particular community and students.

The Projects have approached the issue of race in diverse ways. For example, Minnesota's Project[24] has an entire unit of several week's duration in the tenth grade United States history course devoted to a study of the reasons for the failure of the social and economic rehabilitation of the Negro following the Civil War. Also, the Project's twelfth grade course, Value Conflicts and Policy Decisions, includes as one of its seven basic units a study entitled "Resolving Race Problems at Home". The three units -- coupled with the preceding K-6 materials -- offer schools a variety of more scholarly and meaningful materials than have traditionally been available to them.

A slightly different approach to the question of race appears in the materials prepared by the Indiana University Government Project.[25] These materials, designed for the ninth grade course entitled American Political Behavior, use the Negro as one example of a political sub-culture. The effects upon the total political socialization of an individual resulting from his being a member of a particular race are carefully examined in the sub-unit entitled "Mediators of Political Socialization". Here the student is able to develop insights into "how ethnic group identity as well as socio-economic status identity greatly affect, or mediate, the transmission of political culture ....".[26] To this writer's knowledge, this kind of important concept has not been previously given major emphasis in textbooks.

Another approach to the race issue is found in the pamphlet entitled Negro View of America -- The Legacy of Oppression in the materials from the Harvard Project.[27] This Project has concentrated its efforts on producing materials that deal with public issues. In this unit students are encouraged to deal with questions such as: How do American Negroes view our society?, and, Why are so many Negroes culturally deprived? The emphasis is upon the use of social science methodology to analyze these kinds of questions. A great deal of stress is placed upon the analysis of statistics, and students are given the opportunity to compare data on white and non-white groups in our society in order to help them make their comparisons. Several commonly-held theories that claim to explain the position of the Negro in the present-day society are examined and students are encouraged to formulate and answer questions that place the idea of race in a broader framework than is customarily seen in the simplistic explanations found in many textbooks.

Another approach that points out the complexities of racial issues can be found in the work of the Carnegie-Mellon Project.[28] Two of the four units designed for their tenth grade course entitled Tradition and Change in Four Societies[29] make a major effort to examine race relations in the context of the societies of South Africa and Brazil. These two units go into considerable depth tracing the history of race relations in these two societies. Students are exposed to a variety of views on the issue and are expected to use the techniques associated with the historical method in their search for answers to the questions provided in their readings. Keeping the discussion of race relations focused upon two areas outside of the United States provides the students with opportunities to develop comparisons that are not restricted to their own society. This Project also includes three chapters in its eleventh grade materials on United States history that concentrate on the Negro past in this country and the present struggle of the Negro to attain equal civil rights. Thus, in combination, the Project's tenth and eleventh grade materials provide schools with an opportunity to offer courses that deal with the issue of race -- in depth -- in three different societies and from a variety of viewpoints.

Lastly, the Sociological Resources Project[30] has developed a unit entitled Stereotypes that provides secondary schools with material designed to reduce stereotyped thinking concerning race and a range of other subjects that frequently involve a lack of objectivity.

Together these kinds of units along with the others that are rapidly becoming available from the publishers provide teachers with a wide range of useful materials to deal with the most obvious physiological difference that students observe between human groups, i.e., race.

II. International Society

II. A. Groups to Examine

An understanding of the reality of how international society functions requires that students be aware of groups and organizations that are operating on at least three general levels: 1) sub-national; 2) national; and 3) cross-national. Let us first briefly examine existing materials that deal with these three kinds of groupings.

In general, both the published elementary materials and the recent output of the Projects do devote considerable attention to the first level, i.e., sub-national groups. Studies of families, tribes and cities are found throughout the materials designed for elementary social studies classes. Material developers have obviously become convinced that studying families, tribes and cities in various locations around the world is important. The question still remains, however -- for what purpose are these things being studied? Unless the relationships between these groups and the larger societies of which they are a part are made explicit to students, these studies run the risk of becoming merely descriptive and not in any way truly comparative. Care must be taken to insure that students and, perhaps even more importantly, teachers are clearly aware of why such groupings are studied. While all three levels of studies -- sub-national, national and cross-national -- should be included in the curriculum, this chapter will attempt to determine only how the Projects have handled the national level, i.e., studies of countries or areas.

II. A.2. Area and Country Studies

It seems safe to say that perhaps no single level of societal organization has received as much attention in the existing social studies materials for grades K-12 as have countries and areas. Elementary schools -- virtually universally -- expose their students to an exploratory look at other countries. This exposure occurs at several grade levels depending both upon local and state mandates and upon individual teacher preferences. Primary students (K-3) are seldom directly involved in such country studies; however, few intermediate (4-6) students pass through the social studies curriculum without at least one or more years devoted to the study of other nations. Grades four and six are often devoted to brief "visits" to such typical places as the fjords of Norway, Lapland, the canals of Holland, the Swiss Alps, the islands of the Aegean, the canals of Venice, the Nile Valley, the Arabian Desert, and then an eastward journey to survey several other exotic areas in South and East Asia. Canada and Latin America are usually each given a year in the typical elementary curriculum; however, even this much more realistic increment of time is dissipated by the misplaced focus of the study that tends to concentrate on the different and/or unique elements in the societies of even our closest neighbors. Very often these efforts to study other countries or areas fall victim to the common practice of trying to cover far too broad a sweep in too short a period of time. This has necessitated superficiality and undue emphasis upon the bizarre and the unique. Therefore, many elementary students have been left believing that all Norwegians are fishermen who live in a tiny village at the head of a fjord, or that all Greeks are villagers who daily go forth to extract sponges from the clear blue waters of the sea. "Country" studies like these are not likely to help students begin to develop the kind of accurate images that will provide them with the intellectual equipment necessary to form the basis for scholarly comparisons. Too many elementary programs simply have not treated the study of numerous foreign nations in a systematic manner using a comparative approach.

On the secondary level can be seen a slightly more encouraging picture. Here, the majority of students usually take at least one course during the junior high school years (7-9) that deals exclusively with other nations. This course is usually taken in grade seven and the major emphasis is normally geographic. The senior high school years (10-12) still lack any predominant single national pattern, with the exception of the virtually universal requirement for some sort of course in American history or American studies in the eleventh grade. Although a course involving the study of other nations is usually offered at the tenth grade level, it is frequently elective and enrolls only a small percentage of the total student body.

Social studies programs in the post-World War II period have also been characterized by a proliferation of area-studies offerings -- usually elective -- in grades eleven and twelve. Though commendable as an indication of the schools' attempt to "globalize" the previously Western-oriented social studies curriculum, most of these upper grade electives are subject to the same criticism as the elementary school "country studies" -- they attempt to cover too broad a scope given the limited time available. Not infrequently one observes courses designed to try to "cover" all of Asia, Africa (including the Moslem World) and Latin America in only one semester. Studying Africa in two to four weeks is not uncommon -- though patently impossible in practice. The same thing can be said about studying China, from the Hsia Dynasty to the present Cultural Revolution, in four or five weeks; India from the Indo-European incursions to Madame Gandhi in only three or four weeks; Brazil in a day or two; Argentina and Chile in the same time period; or Mexico in less than a week. All of these are examples of teachers' attempts "to cover" the assigned syllabus. Most of the available textbooks reflect this same compulsion to "cover" -- that is, one chapter per week or one topic per day -- regardless of whether the chapter deals with Spain or Africa, the Netherlands or India, Scandinavia or East Asia. All nations and areas tend to be regarded as deserving of equal time in the minds of many publishers and educators. Granted that to their own inhabitants all nations are important; nonetheless curriculum planners of programs for future citizens of a global society might be wise to keep in mind the line from Orwell's Animal Farm which says "... but some are more equal than others!"

Given this situation, what have the Projects produced that might improve conditions? Any attempt to analyze in detail or to even completely list the Project materials designed to teach about all of the countries or areas of the world is not possible in this short chapter. Therefore, only one continent -- Africa -- will be examined. Hopefully, the Project materials on Africa will serve as a representative sample of the broader range of materials being produced in the category of national groups, i.e., countries or area studies.

Africa and the Projects

Of those Projects that have prepared materials for just the elementary grades, only a few have dealt with Africa. The Minnesota Project[31] has developed a Resource Unit for grade two on "The Hausa Family". This is one of several units in this project's two-year sequence for grades one and two entitled, "Families Around the World". The Teacher's Guide for this material states that, "Children will study families from different societies, including a family from a non-Western culture at each grade level. They will be asked to make comparisons with their own families.

At the end of the year ... /they/ will be asked to generalize about families in their own community as well as around the world."[32] The families -- including the Hausa -- have been carefully chosen in order to teach a number of concepts. In addition to others, cultural diversity, the uniqueness of culture, the role of norms and values, the fact that culture is learned, and certain site concepts are all stressed. Besides emphasizing these general concepts throughout the two-year sequence, the unit on the Hausa provides examples of several specific ideas about polygamy, settled agriculture in contrast to slash-and-burn techniques found elsewhere in Africa, and the production of goods for market. The Minnesota material stresses an inquiry approach and has very clearly stated objectives for the unit -- as well as for the entire sequence of units. This work represents a rather sophisticated attempt to make the study of subnational groups truly comparative rather than merely descriptive.

A different approach to the study of Africa for the elementary student is found in the preliminary work of the Taba Project.[33] Under the directorship of the late Dr. Hilda Taba,materials for this Project were developed originally for the Contra Costa County schools. In addition to including Africa in the third grade course, A Study in Comparative Communities, this Project stresses comparisons and contrasts and also places strong emphasis upon the teacher adopting a flexible approach to content. Heavy emphasis is also given to the development of a series of key generalizations or "large central ideas" throughout the unit and some effort is made to encourage teachers to adjust the content to the varying abilities of the students. Their materials on Africa include units entitled, "Primitives of Africa"* and "People of the Hot Dry Lands", and although this latter unit covers desert peoples in several locations, much of the material deals with Africa. The potential for comparisons exists -- and is intended to be stressed by the author(s). In this writer's opinion however, the Taba materials present a potential problem to teachers who desire to use the comparative approach because, as do many textbooks, they stress the more exotic and atypical African types, i.e., the Pygmies and the Zulus. In contrast, the Minnesota Project examines the much more typical Hausa. Most African scholars would agree that although no single group is typical, the Hausa come closer to being so. Nonetheless, both Projects do emphasize comparative sub-national group studies throughout their materials.

Another project that has developed materials on Africa at the elementary level is the Providence Project.[34] This Project has adopted the unique strategy of devoting the entire sixth grade course to a simultaneous in-depth comparison of Africa and Latin America. The entire year's work is one continuous attempt to contrast and compare these two areas. Materials are drawn from a variety of disciplines (as they also are in the Minnesota and Taba materials) with the heaviest emphasis placed upon geography and history. Anytime materials attempt to compare entire culture regions and/or continents the problem of making sure a representative selection has been chosen arises. In this writer's opinion, the Providence Project might have been more helpful to the teacher if more carefully selected areas, groups, cities or nations within these immense areas had been concentrated upon.

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*Author's note: This title, though perhaps technically correct, may raise serious questions with many Americans, particularly those of African descent. The simple title, "Selected Peoples of Africa", might be preferable.

In passing, it seems worth noting that persons preparing the reading lists for all three of these Projects have neglected to make full use of source materials published in the English language outside of the United States. Some potentially highly useful elementary materials do exist and references to them should be included -- particularly when these units are emphasizing comparative studies.

Several Projects have developed materials on Africa for the secondary level. The Harvard Project,[35] the first to have their African materials published commercially, has developed an area study entitled, Colonial Kenya subtitled, Cultures In Conflict. As is true of all of the materials from this Project, the unit on Kenya consists of a series of readings that focuses on basic questions concerning public issues. Using both historical and contemporary readings this unit concentrates on fundamental differences in the way Europeans and Kenyans view reality. This material's major innovation is the willingness of the authors to come to grips with the complex and difficult conditions surrounding the rise of Africans to political control in areas that were formerly under white colonial rule. The Harvard Project's materials reflect the increasing willingness of several of the Projects to deal in depth with current, often open-ended questions that require the students to make value judgments.

The Carnegie-Mellon Project[36] has approached its study of Africa by concentrating on South Africa and the problem of apartheid.[37] Prepared by Richard Ford and the Project staff, their unit is entitled Tradition and Change In the Republic of South Africa. These materials, like the Harvard materials, consist of readings that attempt to have the students focus on the relationship between the races and, by so doing, increase their awareness of their own values.

The Illinois Project[38] has developed an extensive unit on Africa. Entitled Sub-Saharan Africa: A Cultural Area, it is the first of four area studies designed for use in their tenth grade course. The Project Director, Ella C. Leppert, has said: "In the process of learning to view cultures in terms of the institutional arrangement that their members have developed to cope with the persistent problems of economic constraint, political power, and socialization, in terms of changes that take place within cultures, a conscious effort is made to engage the student in the process of social inquiry. Learning experiences provide opportunity for students ... to learn to use the criteria and to develop the attitudes of social scientists". Preceded by a short unit entitled "What is Africa?" the Project's major unit is divided into five major sections: physical environment, social life, economic life, political life and other aspects of life. The readings that make up the units are a combination of the work of contemporary writers on Tropical Africa, western specialists on Africa, and African writers and poets. This latter group is included in order to provide the student with "a sense of 'feeling' for the people and their way of life".[39] Throughout, the emphasis is upon helping the student to understand the tremendous diversity in Africa and to see Africa as a continent that reflects both stability and change. The student's "social map of the world" is developed by continually stressing both the cognitive and affective aspects of learning. Several of the sections make wide use of selections on various aspects of life in Africa written by Africans. Included in Section II is a subsection on South Africa and the apartheid policy, presenting both sides of the question and encouraging students to come to grips with a number of difficult issues. This exercise should help students see how a person's values might influence his acceptance or rejection of apartheid. The Illinois Project has made extensive use of source materials prepared by Africans to help students "get inside" another culture. The Project stresses an inquiry-learning approach and devotes most of its content to developing an awareness of the cultures of the various peoples of Africa.

The Minnesota Project[40] has developed a Resource Unit entitled "Africa South of the Sahara" for its twelfth grade course. This unit provides the teacher with a variety of ideas including forty-six generalizations (many of them with additional sub-generalizations), sixteen attitudes, and a number of specific skills to be developed. Following the generalizations, attitudes and skills is an outline of the content to be covered along with the specific teaching procedures and a detailed reference to the materials that can be used. The teacher has available 209 suggested teaching procedures, many stressing comparative approaches and a majority designed to engage the student in inquiry-oriented activities. Very few of them are simple fill-in or rote copying-type activities. A wide selection of reading materials are suggested for use and in every case specific page references are made to enable teachers to pinpoint their activities. While not organized either chronologically or topically, this Project does provide a wide variety of useful teaching suggestions on sub-Saharan Africa.

The last Project to be mentioned is the one solely devoted to Africa. Under the directorship of Barry K. Beyer and now located at Carnegie-Mellon University, Project Africa[41] is developing secondary materials for studying sub-Saharan Africa.

This project has developed materials suitable for use in existing 7 - 9th grade world geography or world culture courses. A framework for a one-semester twelfth grade course on Africa south of the Sahara has also been prepared. "The major focus in these materials is on people, contemporary culture, and individual and group problems relevant to life in the latter part of the twentieth century."[42] Their news releases indicate that "the entire framework is designed to pose and answer the questions -- 'Who are the people of Africa?', 'How did they get that way?' and 'What are they becoming?'"[43]

The first topic in the basic materials for grades seven through nine places its major emphasis upon a variety of contemporary African peoples. Each group has been selected to be representative of one or more important features of African life today. The emphasis is upon comparisons --both within Africa and with other world areas. The second topic places its major emphasis upon the sources of culture and the concept of culture change. Here the student looks at selected periods in African history from the earliest origins of Man up until the present day independence movements. The final topic in the course deals with the impact of change upon the individual.

This Project uses a wide range of printed and audio-visual materials throughout and emphasizes inquiry as its basic teaching strategy. In addition to the preparation of basic course materials, an effort to determine student-held attitudes towards Africa as well as to collect and evaluate the available teaching materials has also been successfully accomplished by this Project. These efforts have provided teachers and curriculum developers with invaluable assistance in their work.

In summary, these secondary school Projects' efforts to develop materials for area and/or country studies about Africa have provided schools with a variety of materials not previously available. The emphasis throughout all of these Projects on only sub-Saharan Africa does tend, however, to further reinforce the image of a split between North Africa and the remainder of Africa that many Africans would not agree with.

II. A, 3. Cross-National Associations and Institutions

Of the three major groupings being examined in this section, unquestionably the one that has been most seriously neglected throughout the existing social studies curriculum is cross-national associations and institutions. A brief look at the structure of the United Nations or perhaps a passing mention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization of American States or the European Common Market is often the total exposure to the rapidly multiplying area of cross-national groupings that students now receive in social studies courses. This condition persists despite the fact that during the past ten years membership in the United Nations has increased from 82 to 122 and that the United Nations family of organizations and other regional organizations now number well in excess of 150. As Chadwick Alger has noted, "Corporations such as Shell, Nestlé, Coca-Cola, and IBM are encountered around the world. Some international business corporations...have annual budgets that surpass the budgets of all intergovernmental and nongovernmental international organizations, and also surpass the budgets of many nations. Some have more influence on international relations...than many nations."[44] These facts of modern international life would seem to merit serious consideration in the schools. Until now, with minor exceptions, they have not.

Conclusion

Today, very few social studies teachers remain unaware that many efforts to revise the present social studies curriculum are underway. Very often, however, teachers have little if any real idea of what these various curriculum improvement efforts are doing. With the exception of a few materials that publishers have already made available, teachers know very little about the objectives or materials produced by curriculum development centers throughout the country. About all they know is that "the Projects" do exist "somewhere", doing "something" that "somehow" is supposed to help them do a better job!

This chapter has been an attempt to select a few items produced by the Projects and relate these materials to some of the ideas found in other parts of this report. No claim is made that the selection chosen necessarily represents the most important kinds of ideas available to be taught about a global society.[45] Nevertheless, in the author's opinion, this presentation represents a valid sample of available Project materials that are relevant to the ideas put forth in this report. The number of good, new materials does tend to generate a feeling of optimism. However, before one becomes too optimistic about the quantity and quality of materials potentially available from the Projects, it would be wise to remember that many of the ideas included in the Outline of Categories have been virtually ignored. The Projects have largely chosen to avoid consideration of such topics as: the impact of corporations on global society, the mounting problems associated with population increases, the increased need for conflict resolution on both domestic and international levels, the pressing need to establish worldwide control of pollution, the everwidening gulf between the "haves" and the "have-nots" of our world, the desirability of having available some form of supranational order or control to assure peace, the whole complex area of foreign policy decision-making, the growing role of regional organizations and common markets, as well as many other similar significant problems and challenges facing our students as they move into the role of tomorrow's leaders. In other words, the Projects have not been as future-oriented as one would have hoped they would be. This lack of significant emphasis upon the future -- plus the usual long delay in getting any new ideas and materials accepted into the curriculum -- is bound to sharply limit the likelihood that what is taught to tomorrow's students will differ appreciably from what is being taught today. This is not to say that the Projects have failed. They certainly represent a movement toward more vital and realistic curriculum.

Unquestionably, international education has benefitted from the materials developed by these curriculum Projects. But given the magnitude of the task that teachers daily face in trying to help students understand and intelligently cope with the world outside our borders, it appears that much work remains to be done before we will be able to say that the social studies curriculum truly reflects the real international world.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

As the previous pages indicate there is currently a wealth of new curriculum materials either now available or forthcoming in the near future. However, there continue to be several significant kinds of needs in regard to future curriculum development. Some of what we perceive to be the more significant of these needs are outlined in the following pages.

I. An annotative bibliography or inventory of available teaching-learning resources.

There is currently available a sizable volume of teaching-learning materials or resources in the field of international education. Additional curriculum materials will be soon forthcoming as various curriculum projects complete their work. However, it is a rare teacher or school that has the resources to continually monitor the output of the American curriculum industry. As a consequence many teachers and schools are unfamiliar with the range of available teaching resources. In the course of this study we have heard countless comments such as, "I would like to do more with foreign policy in American history, but are there materials I could use?" "There is no question that my sixth graders could profitably study international conflict, but I don't know where to begin." "I teach a six week unit on Africa and would like to use it to develop my students' understanding of the concept of culture and the notion of cultural diversity; what materials would be particularly good for this?"

While the need for information about available materials can be partially met by occasional reviews in Social Education or in the publications of such organizations as the Social Science Education Consortium and the Foreign Policy Association, by themselves these are inadequate guides to available resources. There appears to be a pressing need for a bibliography or inventory of teaching-learning resources that would be updated annually or perhaps every other year. Such a guide or inventory should be organized by age level (i.e. materials for K-2; materials for 3-6, etc.); by topic or subject matter; and by type of resource.

The typology outlined earlier in the report suggests one potentially useful mode of organization. For example, let us imagine that materials designed for 5th grade use are being catalogued. The inventory might be organized the following way:

Resources primarily useful in teaching about the earth as a planet.

A. Materials primarily useful in teaching about the earth in the cosmic system.

B. Materials primarily useful for teaching about the cosmological and/or geological histories of the earth.

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Materials primarily useful for teaching about the human species:

A. Materials primarily useful for teaching about man in comparison with other living systems.

B. Materials primarily useful in teaching about:

1. Racial diversity

2. Cultural diversity

3. Diversity in social institutions

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Resources primarily useful in teaching about the international social system.

A. Materials primarily useful for teaching about societies comparatively.

B. Materials primarily useful for teaching about international social processes:

1. Conflict, conflict resolution, and war

2. Trade

3. Communication

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The following typology suggests the sort of thing we have in mind concerning categorizing learning resources by type of material.

1. Reading Materials

   a. Textbooks
   b. Collection of readings
   c. Programmed learning materials
   d. Case studies
   e. Problem papers and decision scenarios
   f. Newspapers and magazines

2. "Vicarious Experience" Situations

   a. Simulations
   b. Games
   c. Role playing exercises

3. Direct Experience Situations
    a. Exercises involving the use of "foreign visitors" as experts and informants

    b. Exercises involving the use of interviews and other communication with international affairs experts and actors

    c. Exercises involving field trips

4. Data Sources
    a. Data pools or banks of quantitative data
    b. Descriptive profile data
    c. Maps, charts, tables, etc.

5. Audio-Visual Materials
    a. Movies
    b. TV
    c. Film clips
    d. Records, tapes

6. Man-Computer Interactions
    a. Computers in model and theory building
    b. Computers in data processing

7. Teaching Situations
    a. Situations in which students teach peers or younger children

8. Research Situations
    a. Situations in which students assume roles of researchers

9. Physical Models

10. "Packaged", multi-media units, e.g. Fenton 9th Grade comparative politics materials, the EDC 5th Grade course

11. "Unit plans" or course outlines

The inventory should be annotated and provide its users the following kinds of information:

1. Brief reviews of the content of the materials

2. Information about costs and where materials can be obtained

3. Reports on results of evaluations of materials when available. (The Morrissett-Stevens evaluation is now being extensively tested. Hopefully, it will not be long before a good portion of newly developed materials will be accompanied by the results of systematic evaluations. Where extensive evaluations are not available, the compilers of the inventory might usefully comment briefly on the

apparent utility of given materials in light of given teaching objectives, e.g. the development of inquiry skills, the development of conceptual thought, etc.)

Needless to say, the construction of a periodically renewed catalogue of available teaching-learning resources would be a sizeable organizational undertaking. As such, it should be considered in connection with the need for a clearing house in world affairs education that is discussed in Chapter VI of this report. In the course of this study we have tried to outline in rough fashion the dimensions of the task of systematically inventorying available materials.

The enormity of the task of establishing and maintaining such a system can be appreciated by considering that materials from all the following organizations must be included and that continuous contact must be maintained with these groups:

- public school systems - state and local levels
- private schools
- publishers
- social studies projects
- universities
- EPDA Institutes
- private educational organizations
- World Affairs Councils
- National, Regional and State Social Studies Councils
- Regional Educational Labs
- Title III Centers

To keep informed on new materials, the clearinghouse staff would also have to subscribe to all educational newsletters and journals, be placed on mailing lists of organizations which maintain them, and attend all educational meetings of significance.

It is difficult to estimate the number of pieces of material which would be included in such a system, but it would seem to be in the tens of thousands.

These above needs seem to demand a retrieval system of the IBM key-word-index type or, even more useful, the Mirracode photographic retrieval system which would retrieve and make copies of the desired material..

Staff needs would include the following:

- Librarian to catalogue, etc.
- Headquarter's research and consultation staff to read newsletters and journals, decide what materials should be ordered, and serve as curriculum consultants.
- Field staff to attend educational meetings, visit school systems, make personal contacts, and gather materials.
- Secretarial staff

Of course the initial establishment of such a system would require more staff than would be later needed to maintain the system.

II. The development of curriculum evaluation instruments and planning guides.

A second curriculum development need, not unrelated to the need for inventories of teaching-learning resources, is the need to develop instruments that can be used in evaluating particular K-12 curriculum systems and in planning change within these systems.

A large number of schools are engaged in constant or periodic curriculum revision, much of which is designed to strengthen the K-12 curriculum system as an agent of international education. Very frequently curriculum reviews and revisions take place in the absence of an over-all framework designed to highlight problem areas and point up questions that teachers and curriculum specialists need to consider. In our judgment, there is a need to develop a set of instruments that can be used by schools in the self-evaluation of their curriculum system and in the planning of change.

The conception of international education and the typology of objectives outlined in Chapters I and II of the report appear to provide a potentially useful conceptual framework on which to develop a set of curriculum system evaluation instruments and planning guides. These could assume the form of a set of questions that the immediately concerned teachers or curriculum specialists could ask of the curriculum at each grade level. As an example, let us imagine we were seeking to assess the curriculum operative in a given third grade.

What opportunities does your third grade curriculum provide students for developing an understanding of the earth as a planet?

A. Is any time devoted to study of the earth in the cosmic system?
Yes ____ No ____

1. If "no", in your judgment should time be devoted to this?

2. If "yes", how much time? In your judgment is this sufficient? If not, what would you propose? What in the current curriculum could be eliminated or reduced to provide additional time?

3. If "yes", what teaching-learning resources are available for student use?

    a. Books?
    b. Maps and photographs?
    c. Physical models?
    d. Trips to planetariums?
    e. Small scale telescopes?
    f. Movies and pictures?
    g. Visits by local specialists in astronomy?
    h.
    .
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    N

4. Are you satisfied with available resources?

    a. Are they useful in the development of conceptual learning?
    b. Are they useful in the development of inquiry skills?
    c. Do they "capture" or stimulate the interest of students?
    d. What particular information do they communicate?

5. What teaching-learning resources do you know of that you would like to examine?

    a. Books?
    b. Maps and photos?
    .
    .
    N

6. What are your objectives in teaching about this matter? Do you have "tests" or other evaluational instruments to measure your success in realizing these objectives?

B. Is any time devoted to the study of earth history? Yes ___ No ___

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N

What opportunities does the third grade curriculum provide students to develop an understanding of the human species?

A. Is any time devoted to study of man-other living systems comparison?

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N

B. Is any time devoted to study of:

1. Racial differences? Yes ___ No ___

    a. If "no", in your judgment should there be?
    b. If "yes", in what context are racial differences studied?
    c. What teaching-learning resources are available for teaching about racial differences?

        1. Stories?
        2. Films?
        3. Pictures?
        4.
        .
        .
        N

    d. What are your objectives in teaching about racial differences? Do you have ways of determining whether these are being furthered by the materials you use?

e. Are there teaching-learning resources that you would like to examine?

1. Stories?
2. Films?
3. Pictures?

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This is obviously a very truncated example, but perhaps it illustrates the sort of evaluation-planning instrument (or set of instruments) that we have in mind. It should be stressed that this is not an illustrative example. It will require considerable experimentation to determine the format and content that would make an evaluation instrument most useful to its consumers. As suggested in the report, it is impossible to prescribe a detailed K-12 curriculum in world affairs education suitable for every school. But it does seem both possible and desirable to create a set of instruments that can be used by local school systems (perhaps in conjunction with outside assistance) in examining the kinds of contributions which their curriculum is or is not making to the international education of the students. A set of such instruments might well serve to direct or guide the process of curriculum revision while at the same time encouraging the fullest participation of teachers in the process.

III. Needs in respect to curriculum materials development

While there is a growing volume of new and forthcoming materials relative to international education, we believe that there are several areas and/or kinds of materials whose development ought to be encouraged.

Secondary Education- With respect to secondary education, as Howard Mehlinger indicates in a paper prepared for the FPA study, a great deal can be done to "internationalize" high school curriculum in the context of existing courses. Specifically, we feel the following types of curriculum development work should be undertaken.

(1) Materials for the comparative study of American history. Most American students are exposed to the systematic study of American history on three separate occasions (usually in the 5th, 8th and 11th or 12th grades). There are repeated charges that this arrangement exposes students to a great deal of repetition and redundancy. Assuming that this charge is founded (and there is available evidence indicating that it can be easily exaggerated), several things can be done. One is to provide more in-depth ("postholing") studies of certain historical periods or events. Another, and we feel a potentially very fruitful, option is to enhance the comparative element in studies of American history. Needless to say, American society's historical experience is not unique in the sense of being incomparable to the historical experience of other societies. The American revolution is but one of many colonial revolutions. The problem of "nation-building", of integrating more than a dozen separate and autonomous political units, was and is taking place in all parts of the world. Problems of economic development in America's history are by no means problems unique to America in the 19th century. Civil

wars have occurred in many of the societies of the modern world. In a word, there are a great many events, trends, and developments in the history of American society that can be usefully compared to their counterparts elsewhere in the world. It would clearly seem that one of the ways in which existing curriculum could be strengthened is through the development of of teaching-learning resources that place one historical experience of American society in comparative perspective. In short, there is a need for materials (ideally in time, whole courses) that explicitly treat the "American experience" as a case study or a laboratory for the study of many "pan-human" phenomena. Some work is currently being done in the creation of comparative American history materials. In our judgment this kind of effort should be encouraged and extended.

(2) Materials for the comparative study of social problems. Many American students take a course in their 11th or 12th years conventionally called Problems of American Democracy. Few if any of the "problems" examined are problems unique in American society. Indeed they are problems which are common to all human societies in their basic sociological dimensions (e.g. problems relating to social control; the socialization of the young; adaptation to social change; conflict management, etc.) and very similar in their particular manifestations to contemporary social problems confronting all large-scale, industrialized, and urbanized societies.

There is, we believe, a need to develop curriculum that explicitly recognizes these facts. In short, there is a need for materials dealing with problems in race relations, crime control, education, urbanization, bureaucratization, foreign relations, etc. that explicitly treat social problems in American society in a comparative and global context. American students should have the opportunity (1) to see that many contemporary problems in American society are but one manifestation of social problems that are global in role, and (2) to examine in an objective and dispassionate way the manner in which non-American societies have responded (and are responding) to such phenomena as increased urbanization, population growth, industrialization, the need for expanded welfare services.

(3) Comparative studies of American social institutions. There is currently a good deal of work being done on the development of materials for the comparative study of American politics, economics, and family structure. In our judgment this trend should be clearly encouraged and future materials designed on the basis of the demonstrated strengths and weaknesses of currently available and soon-to-be-forthcoming materials.

(4) Materials for a comparative and historical study of American society in the 8th or 9th grade. "Civics" has been traditionally a curriculum offering in a great many American schools in either the 8th or 9th grade. For a large number of reasons there is a growing discontent with traditional civics and many schools are searching for alternatives. Several possibilities are either available or are being developed, including courses in comparative politics and economics and American political behavior. It seems doubtful whether there will be any agreed-upon formula for some time to come. Indeed it seems very desirable to develop several alternative kinds of courses to the traditional civics offering. One such possibility, we believe, is the development of a course dealing with contemporary American society in both a

cross-national and historical comparative perspective. Such a course might be organized around an examination of a few major structural characteristics of modern American society. For example, (1) American society is an increasingly urbanized society, (2) American society is an increasingly industrialized society, (3) American society is a multi-racial society, (4) American society is an increasingly bureaucratized society, etc. The meaning and significance of these phenomena would be developed by comparing contemporary American society with other nations and with American society itself at different historical periods. The latter dimension of comparison should have a strong future thrust or orientation. That is, the course should entail the examination of American society's possible futures.

(5) Materials for the study of foreign policy and international relations. There is a growing interest in the study of foreign policy and international relations in American high schools. Currently, there is a paucity of teaching materials. While there are new materials forthcoming there is a continuing need for new materials, particularly in regard to international relations. A growing number of schools are creating special courses in international relations or politics. While the wisdom of this move may be questioned, there is no question of a need for suitable teaching-learning resources. Since high school level international relations is more or less virgin territory in the sense of there being no established format for such courses, we believe that the design of alternative types of courses should be encouraged. One alternative that we believe should be experimented with is a course that treats the international or world political system comparatively. This is to say, the course should be designed on the assumption that the world political system is one of many analytically comparable political systems and that as such this system can be best understood when it is explicitly compared to different human political systems at the national and sub-national levels of social organization. Such a course should also, we believe, stress the analysis of alternative futures.

(6) A course on the study of contemporary world society. We feel that it would be valuable to experiment with the development of a course, that could be offered in lieu of world history, that explicitly treats the contemporary world as a global society that is analytically comparable to human societies at the national and sub-national levels. Such a course might be developed around a conceptually oriented examination of three types of phenomena: (1) major structural characteristics of contemporary global society, (2) major social processes within contemporary global society, and (3) major social problems within contemporary global society. The following outline suggests the nature of what we have in mind.

I. The Nature of World Society

A. World society is a politically uncentralized society.
B. World society is a multi-lingual society.
C. World society is a multi-religious socity.
D. World society is an institutionally diverse society.
E. World society is an ideologically diverse society.
F. World society is characterized by vast disparities in economic wealth and political power.
G. World society is a rapidly growing society.
H. World society is an increasingly urbanized society.

I. World society is an increasingly industrialized society.
J. World society is an increasingly inter-dependent society.

II. Social Process and Problems in Contemporary World Society.

A. Inter-group conflict and conflict resolution.

1. Inter-racial conflict
2. Inter-religious conflict
3. Inter-nation conflict

B. The management of violence
C. Trade, aid, investment and the problem of economic development.
D. International communication and the diffusion of culture.
E. Inter-nation influence.

III. The Possible Futures of World Society.

(7) Materials for the comparative study of non-American societies. For a number of reasons it is very likely that some version of an area studies approach will be the prevailing mode of organizing so-called non-Western studies at the high school level for some time to come. We are encouraged by the efforts on the part of several people involved in developing materials for the study of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to give the study of these areas a comparative orientation. In our judgment these, like recent efforts to develop comparative materials for the study of American society, should be encouraged and expanded. Specifically, we believe that there is a need for inquiry-oriented materials for the comparative study of societies within given regions or cultural areas and for inter-regional comparisons.

Elementary Education- While a great deal can be done to strengthen the international dimension of the secondary school curriculum, perhaps the most critical curriculum development needs in the field of international education exist at the elementary level. The existing research evidence clearly suggests that a wide range of basic social orientations develop during childhood and that the elementary schools play a significant role in the formation of many of these. In our judgment there are several kinds of priority needs in elementary curriculum development in international education.

(1) Materials for teaching about international processes, organizations, and problems. As indicated in Chapter I of the report, international education in elementary schools has been viewed largely as a matter of teaching about other lands and peoples. Among the consequences of this is the fact that while there is a rather massive volume of teaching-learning materials focused on particular countries, there is very little material suitable for teaching about international social processes, organizations and problems. Specifically, there is need for:

(a) Teaching materials designed to illustrate the multiplicity of ways in which individuals and groups within modern societies interact with and are influenced by individuals and groups in other societies;
(b) Teaching materials designed to develop children's conceptual

understanding of conflict, conflict resolution, war, and international collaborations;

(c) Teaching materials designed to develop children's conceptual understanding of international poverty and problems of economic development.

(2) Materials for the comparative study of cities, social systems, and national societies. There is a heavy emphasis within a good deal of the contemporary curriculum reform movement upon the importance of comparative studies at the elementary school level. However, there is a paucity of suitable resources for teaching about cities, social systems, and national societies comparatively. Moreover, some of the materials which are allegedly comparative appear to be comparative in name only. They do not involve students in the process of systematically observing similarities and differences, let alone in the process of analyzing and testing hypotheses about similarities and differences among a population or sample of cities, social systems, or national societies. Happily there are some recent efforts to develop resources for genuinely comparative analysis. In our judgment these efforts ought to be encouraged and expanded.

(3) The development of materials for the study of alternative futures. Throughout the report there is an emphasis upon the necessity of educating young humans to live in a world of rapid and continuous change. Existing curriculum in many schools fails to do this for a variety of reasons. One of these is the fact that students are encouraged to think about the past and to a lesser degree the present, but rarely are they asked to think about the future which after all is for the young the most relevant segment of human history. We believe that it is possible and desirable to develop learning resources which provide students with the opportunity to explicitly imagine and analyze alternative futures.

(4) The development of curriculum structure based on a world systems approach. While the international dimension of elementary curriculum can be strengthened through the development of the types of materials noted above, the most pressing need lies in developing alternative approaches to the conventional patterns of organizing and sequencing elementary social studies education. Specifically, there is a need to experiment with the development of curriculum explicitly grounded in the approach to international education described in Chapters I and II of this Study. We believe that this might be done through a long term project making use of one or more pilot schools. Curriculum would be developed grade by grade. During the first year curriculum would be developed for the kindergarten level. During the second year of the project curriculum would be developed for the same set of students who would now be in the first grade. Also during the second year, the kindergarten materials would be used with a new group of children and further tested and revised. This sequence would be followed throughout the elementary years.

CHAPTER IV

A REVIEW OF EXISTING AND NEEDED RESEARCH ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATIONS DURING CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Socialization viewed as "the whole process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior within a much narrower range," (Child, 1954), has become a significant focus of social-scientific inquiry in recent years (see also Goslin, 1969). Political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists have joined developmental psychologists and educators in studying the structure and process of pre-adult socialization. In some cases research has been focused upon socialization as a social process essential to both maintenance and orderly change in social systems. In other cases, inquiry has focused upon socialization as a learning process in the attempt to understand how individuals acquire and develop perceptions, cognitions, and valuations of various objects within their social environment. The net result is a growing body of research literature and theoretical commentary illuminating both facets of the socialization process.[1]

Understandably, but nonetheless regrettably, to date the great bulk of research concerning socialization into systems has focused upon the socialization of individuals into systems at the national and sub-national levels of human social organization. Comparatively little research has been done on international socialization which we broadly define as the process through which individuals develop cognitive, evaluative, and affective orientations toward the world social system and learn specific images, feelings, knowledge and information-processing skills with regard to particular objects within this system, e.g., images of their own and other societies, attitudes toward war, etc. We are now beginning to learn a good deal about the development of young people's orientation to national and sub-national institutions but continue to be very ignorant about the development of orientations to groups, organizations, processes, and states of affairs within the international framework.[2]

This chapter is an effort to do two things. First, we try to review the major research on international socialization that has been done to date confining ourselves to research focused upon children and adolescents below college age. Second, we try to indicate the types of research which we believe should be undertaken in the course of the next several years.

The method for organizing the studies to be presented has been determined in part by the areas of study where relevant data exist. It would be a cause for celebration if researchers had actually collected material on the attitudes of children toward the human species or toward the earth as a planet - or if children had been queried about the ways in which laws concerning international relationships differ from those with more domestic scope, for example. This is not the case. The material to be organized included studies of students in the first grade through high school which focused primarily on the content (and secondarily on the process) of international socialization presented and organized by major manifest content. Both descriptive and developmentally oriented studies are reported. There is a section on nationalism which focuses on the role of close and distant experience in the development of children's orientations as well as upon more traditional approaches to national identification. These studies are particularly likely to include children under six years of age because of the importance of this period for such basic attachments; they also include several studies oriented to Piaget's conceptual framework regarding discrete stages as well as the role of reciprocity, egocentrism, and decentralization. Evaluations (particularly ratings) of other nation-states and some orientations toward international processes are included in the next section with considerable data re-analyzed from peripheral studies. Cross-national as well as American studies of stereotyping have been included here. There is a very short review of children's attitudes toward the United Nations followed by consideration of the family and generational influences upon international socialization. There is a long review of the role of school curriculum in changing children's orientations. Finally, the core of the chapter is a statement of our concerns for further research in this area.

The Development of National Orientation And the Role of Close and Distant Experience In Children's Orientations

The first studies reported in this section focus not only on the cognitive abilities important in the child's development of a sense of national identity, but upon the prevalent view of the child's world as a gradually expanding series of concentric circles versus a view of the young child's ability to deal with more remote areas.

Piaget and Weil Study

Piaget and Weil (1951) have dealt longitudinally with developing notions of the nation-state in Swiss children. Early childhood until age five or six, they argue, is characterized by a total lack of awareness of environment in a societal sense with an inability to identify town, city, state, or nation. This seems to correspond to an unconscious egocentricity, both cognitive and affective, whereby the child presumes himself the center of his social world. After age six, children queried by the researchers were able to identify their place of residence in both city and nation, but the two entities were conceived of as co-equal.[3] Between ages of seven and eleven, the city became part of the country spatially but not logically. At this stage the homeland is still only an abstract notion: What counts is the town, or the family. The children do not yet synthesize their environmental knowledge into any conception of national system (1951, p. 565). Only at ages ten or eleven did the children appear to develop a conception of country as a coherent collection of people and places.

Concerning the affective dimension, the researchers found increasing decentralization of attachments with age - from the initial stage of complete egocentricity, to family, to group, to society. At ages five and six, the children studied tended to express preferences for nations randomly suggesting that no consistent attachments outside of the family had yet developed.

Piaget and Weil suggest that children's failure to grasp the idea of their country or homeland, either on the cognitive or on the affective plane, represents two independent and parallel aspects of the same spontaneous, unconscious egocentricity - the original obstacle to any integration of logical relationships and affective values (1951, p. 566).

Slightly older children had begun to express preferences for their country, and this preference appeared to represent an acceptance of the relationship between nation, family birth, and residence. At this stage, the authors suggest, the process of affective decentralization had begun. By ages ten and eleven, the home country was preferred because (a) no wars were there, (b) it was the home of the Red Cross, (c) it was free, and (d) it was neutral.

Piaget and Weil introduced the notion of reciprocity which suggests both cognitive and affective awareness of the equality and similarity of status of the children's own nation and other nations and peoples. Greater reciprocity was found among 10, 11, and 12-year-old children. The authors concluded from the examination of children's developing awareness of their own country and other countries and the transition from egocentricity to reciprocity that:

> ...the child's discovery of his homeland and understanding of other countries is a process of transition from egocentricity to reciprocity...that this gradual development is liable to constant setbacks, usually through the reemergence of egocentricity on a broader or sociocentric plane, at each new stage in this development, or as each new conflict arises. Accordingly, the main problem is not to determine what must or must not be inculcated in the child; it is to discover how to develop that reciprocity in thought and action which is vital to the attainment of impartially and affective understanding (Piaget and Weil, 1951, p. 578).

Jahoda Study

More recently, Jahoda (1962, 1963) has refined and embodied Piaget's developmental theories in more systematic empirical research giving special emphasis to children's sophistication with respect to geographic, spatial, and nationality considerations. Jahoda studied 6 to 11-year-old Scottish children of middle and working class background. As Piaget, Jahoda hypothesizes generally that:

> ...a child's intellectual grasp of his environment begins in his immediate vicinity and only gradually extends outwards (1963, p. 48).

Jahoda classified responses to open-ended questions into four stages of geographic awareness. The first stage (GI) was one in which children had no conception of Glasgow as a unitary whole (all children queried were from Glasgow schools). The second stage (GII) was one in which children had a conception of Glasgow as a unitary whole but were not aware of the city as a part of Scotland. In the third stage (GIII) children identified Glasgow as part of Scotland but not as part of Great Britain. In stage four (GIV) the children accurately identified the relationships between Glasgow, Scotland, and Great Britain. Jahoda's findings by age group were reported as follows:

TABLE B-1: Geographical Stages Reached by Type of School and Age (1963, p. 51) (6 groups, 24 children in each)

Geographic Stages	Middle Class Schools			Working Class Schools		
	Age			Age		
	6-7	8-9	10-11	6-7	8-9	10-11
GI	4	1	--	16	5	--
GII	13	3	--	8	10	3
GIII	4	7	2	--	4	12
GIV	3	13	22	--	5	9
	24	24	24	24	24	24

The data suggest that children increasingly with age grasp the nature of their life space in broad geographical units; approximately 65 percent of the Glasgow children studied were aware of their city, their country, and their relationship with Great Britain by age 10 or 11. This awareness developed earlier in children of middle class background. Jahoda had similar results relating to the children's orientation to nationality, spatial representations of geographic relationships, and the concept of "town" in the Scottish context.

Jahoda further studied the ideas and attitudes of these children toward other countries. First, they were asked to name countries. Generally, it was found that the younger children named countries on a random geographic basis. With increasing age, various "region country" patterns emerged; i.e., Norway and Sweden; France, Italy, and Spain, etc. Developmental differences were noted between the middle and working class children. The middle class children named France, America, Germany, and Africa most often; the working class children named India, Africa, China, and France most often. In the latter case, Jahoda argued, the children identify the more "exotic," "strange" lands whereas the former group understands foreign countries in more "conventional" ways.

As to likes and dislikes, the youngest children preferred Africa, Canada, and India and disliked Germany (47 percent of the children ages 6 and 7 had no dislikes). Here, again, the exotic appeared to mobilize evaluative feelings. In the eight and nine year range, France, America and Switzerland were liked most and Germany, Japan, Africa, and India were liked least. Expressions of positive affect were related to materialistic considerations at this age level - including French and Swiss vacations and American cars and buildings. The dislike for Germany and Japan was related to participation in World War II (the data were gathered in the 1960's). In the ten- and eleven-year-old group, France, America, Switzerland, and Canada were liked and Russia, Germany, and China were disliked. The addition of distaste for Russia and China represented perhaps an inculcation of some Cold War imagery. The author noted some tendency, particularly among working class children:

> ...to judge a country favorable in proportion to its perceived similarity to the home country...Conversely, one could discern a disposition to be patronizing, if not hostile, to other countries seen as different (Jahoda, 1962, p. 98).

Jahoda summarized his findings as in Table B-2.

Weinstein Study

Weinstein (1957) made an early attempt to describe the development of the concept of flag and the sense of national identity in American children and to seek the relevance of concepts such as those of Piaget to this content area. He was especially interested in two approaches of Piaget: the gradual acquisition of concepts - leading to a correlation with age; and invariance of order in the acquisition of various elements of the concepts. Forty-eight children from kindergarten through the sixth grade in Bloomington, Indiana, were interviewed with a 22-item interview schedule. (Some responses are quoted in his article). The levels of development may be summarized as forming an approximately ordinal scale in the development of the idea of the nation:

First Level (5-6 years): Child uses the vague impression of the one flag in his experience to stand for all flags.

Second Level (also, often 5-6): Child first exhibits notion of other countries - of two kinds, good and bad. The flag is not yet a genuine symbol.

Third Level (7 years): Children at this stage look at information in a new way, rather than simply acquiring new facts. Countries are now differentiated on the basis of geographical areas without the necessity of moral differentiation.

Fourth Level (8 years): Previously the flag, people, and government belong to a country. Here country is like a corporation with certain assets: people, flag, physical objects, events and sanctions on people's behavior. The government is like a board of directors which administers the assets.

TABLE B-2: Jahoda's Schematic Summary of Developmental Trends (1962, p. 107)

Age Level	Level of Ideas	Likes	Dislikes
6-7	Rudimentary concept of home country. Fails to understand "foreign". Can name few, if any other countries. No coherent space/time orientation.	Preferences governed either by the appeal of the unusual in the physical environment or by snatches of concrete detail fortuitously acquired.	Presumed fleeting negative association established with names of particular places or countries; the sole exception concerns Germany, related to the war.
8-9	Concept of home country established. Understands "foreign". Can name several other countries. Partial space/time orientation emerging.	More familiar countries tend to be named as liked and characterized in terms of trite though appropriate cliches.	These are either former enemy countries or outlandish places formerly attractive but now rejected because of misconceptions about their inhabitants.
10-11	Geographical and historical concepts in the stricter sense are beginning to be mastered. Political and economic ideas make their appearance.	Preferences are justified in terms of the positively evaluated characteristics of the inhabitants.	Follow the lines of the contemporary East-West cleavage and are justified by conventional adult arguments.

> Fifth Level (8 years): Mainly improvement in conception of a multiplicity of flags standing for different states or countries. The United Nations flag is mentioned.
>
> Sixth Level (8 years): Child begins to grasp symbolism and give more complex notions of country including the existence of a group which has common purposes and allegiances.
>
> Seventh and Eight Levels (10 years): Children increase in ability to handle propositions of abstract loyalty and to see that people in other countries think their flag is best.
>
> Ninth and tenth stages (11-12 years) are differentiated mainly by knowledge of rituals.
>
> At this (the final point) in the developmental process the child's verbal organization with respect to flag and national identity is a logical system ... incorporated in responses showing a sophisticated conception of the relation of conventions to flag, people, and government ... He also displays a better understanding of governments as mediating bodies between people and the use of the flag to identify this function (paraphrased and quoted from Weinstein, 1957, pp. 171-3).
>
> The acquisition of the concept is gradual as inferred from the correlation between chronological age and interview performance (.76). The elements which define the concept are related in propositions which increase in complexity as the children are older. Scalogram analysis indicated that the order in which the elements are acquired and the types of relationships perceived among them is fairly stable from child to child. This order can be explained as a function of the ability to perform the logical operations necessary to relate a set of terms as well as the availability of information about those terms (1957, pp. 173-74).

Estvan and Estvan Studies

Although not specifically a study of national conceptions, Estvan and Estvan (1959) investigated aspects of the near-far dimension of orientations, including children at young age levels. These authors interviewed 88 first and sixth graders, equal numbers of boys and girls and equal numbers of rural and urban children. The subjects were shown pictures of various settings (village, city, farm, factory, mansion, poor home, resort, old beach, bedroom, dam, church, capital, schoolroom, dock). They were asked in each case to tell stories about the picture, to place a figure of a child (choice of happy, sad, neutral, angry boy or girl) in each picture, and to choose favorite and least liked picture from the whole group. Only a few of the particulars of their findings are worthwhile though the elements of their scoring system are of interest. They distinguished responses which were structural, describing objective features (that is a factory) from those which were functional, adding dynamic aspects or including process (that is a factory manufacturing steel in mass production). They were also concerned with spatial and temporal settings and with positive and negative attitudes. Some of their conclusions are of interest for our concern with children's ability to handle diversity: "Negative attitudes toward lower-status living develop before children reach the first grade" (Estvan and Estvan.). They concluded this from the fact that the pictures of the poor family evoked the most negative attitudes toward, though children seemed to have little concept of causes of, poverty. They hoped to elicit some attitudes toward international trade with their picture of ships at a dock. They discovered that most children viewed this scene as persons departing for a trip; the international aspect was not frequently mentioned.

In subsequent publications, Estvan (1965), Estvan (1966a), Estvan (1966b) reported on the social perceptions of nursery school children (three- and four-year-olds all from Detroit) using the Life Situation Pictures used in the elementary school study. The reliability of these measures (Estvan 1966a) was satisfactory with regard to most scoring categories. In classifying these pictures spatially, not one child placed a picture in a state, a region, or world setting (preferring to use home, or community).

> Scenes depicting primary institutions and urban environment were more readily perceived than scenes removed from urban regions or representing adult activities. Allusions to space and time also reflected the children's experiences rather than the more sophisticated geo-political or other systems of measurement .... Unfamiliar situations tended to be rejected. (Estvan, 1966a, p. 384.)

The author highlights the marked change in attitudes that occurs in a longitudinally studied sample between the years of 3 and 4 - away from indefinite reactions and toward definite feeling tone.

Wann, Dorn and Liddle Study

Presenting a slightly different point of view regarding the child's orientation toward close and distant events are Wann, Dorn and Liddle (1962). Their pamphlet, though not particularly strong methodologically, is of interest because of the age of children dealt with (three through five), the anecdotal and unstructured nature of the material collected from group discussions with these children, and the orientation of the authors to understanding the process by which children "struggle ... to understand, to interpret, and to put together into a comprehensible pattern the pieces of the complex puzzle that is their world" (p. 39). The authors challenge (and present anecdotal records from nursery and kindergarten children to refute) the assumption that the young child deals primarily with the here and now and is only later prepared to understand remote ideas.

> ... Young children (are) bombarded from all quarters with stimuli from events and phenomena near and remote. Some stimuli result in greater urgency to learn than others. To assume, however, that those stimuli which arise from immediate phenomena or events are more pressing and challenging than others ... is fallacious. A well-presented television show about prehistoric animals or an overheard adult conversation about the immediacy and dire effects of another world war may present for a time a greater need for understanding by young children than the newly fallen snow or the sprouting bean seeds on the window ledge.
>
> Actually, young children shuttle between the present and the remote as a means of understanding the remote. They attempt to understand the remote event ... by bringing it into the familiar through play and thus testing its relationship to what is already and familiar (p. 39).

The authors also attack the idea of the use of clearly defined units to teach concepts. They feel that with this age of child it is necessary to involve the children in a series of relevant experiences over a long period of time (see Spodak study in curriculum section).

They outline concepts which they feel the young child can acquire through adult help in organizing the information to which he is exposed as well as through specific information presentation.

1. Distribution of goods
    a. All people and animals depend on climate and soil for food, clothing, shelter.
    b. Different places have different natural resources.
    c. Transportation is an important factor in distributing products.
    d. Man must deal with the problem of providing enough for all.
2. Culture
    a. Culture is composed of the material and ideological possessions of society.
    b. All societies have a culture.
    c. There is great variety in different cultures.
3. Social Change

   a. Social change occurs all the time (neighborhood, history).

4. Values

   a. Different individuals have different values.

   b. Different groups have different values.

   c. An individual's values are usually determined by the groups to which he belongs.

5. Social and political organization

   a. Groups exist in order to take care of people's needs.

   b. There are different kinds of groups.

   c. All groups have rules for members.

6. Concept of self

   a. What am I able to do?

   b. In what ways am I like others?

   c. What do others think of me?

(p. 109, Wann, Dorn and Liddle 1962).

These bear a remarkable resemblance to some of the objectives of interest to the FPA study.

Lawson Study

Lawson (1963) was interested in the replication of a study originally published by Horowitz in 1940. Twenty boys and twenty girls in each grade, kindergarten through grade 12, were tested in upstate New York in 1961. Twenty flags were mounted and presented randomly in a matrix 5 x 4. Subjects were interviewed and asked to rank the flags for attractiveness. (The Ferguson Nationalism Scale was also administered in grades 10-12 but the author reports no results from this instrument).

The United States flag was rated highest by children at all grade levels except 10-11 in this study, with a constant percentage of about 70 ranking this within the top five flags. (In contrast, the earlier study showed 27 percent of children in grade 1 making this ranking in contrast to 100 percent of Grade 7 students). The Soviet flag in 1961 had the lowest ranking of all flags in the study - chosen within the top five by 10 percent of the children in kindergarten and remaining below this level in all subsequent grades. Twenty-five percent of the kindergarteners ranked the UN flag within the first five; this rose steadily to be even higher than the U. S. flag at grades 10 and 11.

The author feels that this judgment about the attractiveness of flags is a valid projective measure of national feeling; he concludes from the early preference for the U. S. flag and rejection of the Soviet flag that children are developing national attitudes at an earlier age today than in 1940. They are also more sophisticated in not choosing flags (like the Liberian flag) which bear surface similarity to the U. S. flag. The author speculates that World History courses taught in grades 10 and 11 influence the high rating of the U. S. flag at that time. However, he places major emphasis on T.V. as a source of the early development of these attitudes of acceptance and rejection of flags (and presumably the countries they represent).

Hartley and Krugman Study

Among the older studies which have considerable relevance for the problem of the child's ability simultaneously to have a national and an international orientation, one of the best is that of Hartley (1948) and of Hartley and Krugman (1948). The authors were interested primarily in the child's ability to see people simultaneously as Jews and as Americans. In preparation for asking questions like this, they made inquiries of three- to ten-year old children to determine what sorts of role shifts children could easily comprehend. A series of pictures of the same person in different roles accompanied by the following verbal definitions was presented.

First, there was a father, mother and child - "This is Jimmy and his mother and father"; second, the same man in the uniform of a mailman, "This is a mailman"; third, mailman delivering mail, "Is he still a father when he is a mailman?"; fourth, same man as father with child - "Who is this? Is he still a mailman when he is a father?". The authors found that one of four possible reactions occurred in the child: first, the individual was seen as identical with his momentary role (either A or B); second, the individual had one continuous role and a number of momentary ones (always A, sometimes B); third, the individual was equal to all the roles he occupied (always A and B); function could be either permanently or momentarily defined, but potential for the other role was always present (A with potential for B). The authors concluded that the perception of overlapping social roles begins with simple concepts familiar to the child, and overlapping roles are drawn step by step.

Summary

The studies on children's understanding of nationality lead to basically similar stage-oriented conclusions - though the exact age norms may differ somewhat according to the particular questioning method used. The evidence on the issue of close versus distant experience and its role in children's awareness is not so clear but cannot be presumptively resolved in either direction.

From these studies there is a clear impetus to concentrate upon many different facets of children's orientations and to include very young children asked to interpret both structured and unstructured situations, both close to and distant from their immediate experience. We become focused upon the role of symbolism as well as upon the particular importance of cognitive development as stressed by Piaget.

Descriptive and Developmental Studies of Children's Orientations to other Nations and to International Relations In General

The largest number of studies is included in this section, perhaps because its boundaries are the most general. It includes studies which focused primarily upon attitudes toward specific other nations sometimes in comparison with the United States, and sometimes with regard to stereotypes; upon general ideas about how international relations are conducted; and upon normative statements about how things should be. There are some which include nationalistic feeling through the studies. The previous section covers all studies where that was the primary concern, however; the focus here is both descriptive and developmental. It is perhaps easiest to define this section by exclusion: Studies of war-peace conceptions, studies specifically of the United Nations, studies which focused upon the curriculum or the family as an agent of socialization are not included.

Hess and Torney Study[4]

A project at the University of Chicago used a quite detailed questionnaire to study the attitudes of 12,000 U. S. elementary school children (grades two through eight) in eight cities in the United States (testing done in 1962). The data related to national political socialization are reported in more detail in a book, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, by Robert Hess and Judith Torney (1967). The organization used in analyzing these data was the following: First, socialization was delineated as a process by which the child develops conceptions of, ideal norms about, attachments or positive feelings toward, and skills of participation with respect to the country and government. The changes which take place in these elements over the elementary school years were described. In the process of this nationwide study of national political socialization, some information of a descriptive type dealing with international orientations was also gathered. Certain other material with international relevance was obtained in a pilot study prior to the nationwide testing.[5]

Let us review the findings of both the nationwide and the pilot study - particularly attitudes toward America as a nation (what we might call nationalism) and toward America as a participant in the international system. Children of the youngest age tested (six years old) had formed a strong and positive attachment to their country. When asked in interviews why they would rather be Americans than any other nationality, children gave replies like "I'd rather be an American because I like America better, because we have freedom, and I know more people here." In the nationwide group, with regard to feelings of nationalistic pride, a very high percentage of both younger and older children agreed with the statement "America is the best country in the world." If the "don't know" responses are excluded, more than 90% of the children agreed.

Table C-1

Attachment to the Nation

Nationwide Data

America is the best country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	NO
2	84%	9%	6%
3	84	9	7
4	84	8	8
5	87	7	6
6	86	7	7
7	89	7	5
8	91	5	4

Note - N's for each grade range from 1626 to 1795.
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation)

Data in Table C-2 indicate that increasingly with age children choose American ideology and aspects of the political process in preference to the President and to non-political aspects of America and its people when asked what made them most proud to be American. Only 24% of 2nd graders chose the right to vote as a source of pride; 84% of 8th graders chose this alternative. The importance of freedom to our system increased to a high level at an even earlier age. Fifty-two percent of 2nd graders and 96% of 8th graders chose this alternative. These positive feelings about the country become focused on those aspects of American political process which distinguish it most clearly from other countries. These are also abstract qualities of the system; they represent ideals about how the system should operate rather than statements which reflect any actual experience available to children.

It is reasonably clear that at an early age the overwhelming majority of children have strong positive feelings about their country which appear to remain strong through elementary school (and presumably into later life as well). Children also focus their pride in being American more and more upon ideological aspects of America as a nation - pride in freedom and voting are almost unanimous among eighth graders. Action by the school in the direction of this type of socialization of nationalism may be redundant after early elementary school has passed.

Tables C-3 through C-7 give further insight into the image which these children have of their country and of its relation to other countries. These data indicate also the developmental changes which occur in these images. Pilot data (Table C-3) suggest that America,

Table C-2

Changes by Grade in Basis of Pride in American Citizenship
Nationwide Sample

Grade	Americans Are Generous	America Has Beautiful Parks	Americans Vote for Leaders	Americans Have Freedom	Our President
2	35%	37%	24%	52%	46%
3	22	30	35	76	31
4	14	22	47	86	21
5	10	13	65	92	11
6	9	8	72	94	7
7	5	4	82	96	6
8	3	4	84	96	4

Notes. - Item: What makes you the most proud to be an American? Check two things that make you most proud. (1) Americans are the most generous people in the world; (2) America has beautiful parks and highways; (3) Americans can vote for their own leaders; (4) Americans have freedom; (5) our President.

Notes. - Percentages do not always sum to two hundred percent for any grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

Children were asked to choose two alternatives.

N's for each grade range from 1640 to 1786

Table modified from one in Hess and Torney (1967)

Table C-3

Beliefs About America
Pilot Data

America tries to prevent wars more than any other country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	63%	14%	22%
6	68	14	18
8	63	16	20

America is the richest country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	33%	20%	46%
6	37	19	43
8	46	16	39

America helps people in other countries more than anybody else.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	54%	17%	29%
6	65	15	20
8	60	15	25

The United States has more people in it than any other country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	29%	22%	49%
6	12	12	76
8	4	7	89

The United States is the leader of the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	28%	30%	42%
6	27	22	51
8	39	25	36

America is the strongest country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	40%	22%	36%
6	28	23	48
8	21	28	40

Table C-3 (continued)

America controls the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	14%	13%	73%
6	6	7	87
8	6	8	86

Note - N's for each grade range from 98-195.

Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table C-4

Beliefs about Communism
Pilot Study

All foreign countries are Communist.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	19%	32%	49%
6	6	9	85
8	6	3	91

All Communists are Russian.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	27%	29%	44%
6	20	6	74
8	1	7	92

Russians are poorer than Americans.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	47%	14%	39%
6	65	16	19
8	66	18	16

In Russia people are forced to vote for whomever the Communists put up.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	55%	31%	14%
6	85	11	4
8	77	16	6

In Communism everybody works for the government, not for themselves.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	31%	36%	32%
6	77	16	6
8	74	18	8

Table C-4 (continued)

To live in a Communist country means to be "not free".

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	56%	24%	20%
6	89	8	4
8	76	3	21

Note - N's for each grade range from 98-195.
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table C-5

Beliefs about the Justification of Lying to Protect National Interest

Nationwide Study

It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
3	50%	17%	33%
4	40	16	44
5	39	13	48
6	31	13	57
7	31	11	58
8	25	13	62

Note - N's for each grade range from 1667 to 1797.
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table C-6

Beliefs about Communist Threat to America
Pilot Study

The Communists want to take over our country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	66%	7%	17%
6	96	3	1
8	87	6	7

We can never relax as long as there are any Communists in our country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	42%	18%	40%
6	62	14	24
8	64	7	29

Note - N's for each grade range from 98 to 195.
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table C-7

Beliefs about Russian/American Relations
Pilot Study

It is not the Russian people who are our enemies; rather it is the men who rule Russia.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	65%	9%	25%
6	88	4	8
8	92	3	4

The United States ought to try to make friends with Red China and Russia.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	60%	22%	18%
6	63	14	23
8	64	11	24

Note - N's for each grade range from 98 to 195.
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

in relation to the other countries of the world, is seen by the majority of children at each grade as seeking to be helpful and peaceful. Older children are not as likely to claim for America the honor of being most populous although they are more likely to view America as the world's richest country. There is consensus that America does not control the world; some decline in the belief that America is the strongest country, and some express uncertainty that the U.S. is the leader of the world. In summary, within the international context, children at all levels place high positive valuation on their country - justifying this with belief that America helps people in other countries, tries to prevent war, has the ideological (and real) advantage of freedom, and has a worthy political process which allows citizens to vote in free elections.

From interviews conducted as part of the pilot phase of the project it was learned that symbols of the nation such as the flag and Statue of Liberty seem important as objects for attachment and for conceptualizing our country's heritage for the young child. To further investigate the part played by national symbols, in a supplementary study in 1964 children were asked to choose the best picture to show what America is; the Flag and the Statue of Liberty received the largest number of choices at all grade levels (with the exception of grade 2 where George Washington received the largest number). Even young children seem to make a differentiation between America (their country) and the government. The flag and the Statue of Liberty are infrequently chosen as symbols of the government of America. In other words, the youngest children in the sample had been oriented toward the symbols of America as a nation - probably as a result of experience in attending public events, in exposure to television, as well as in school. Specific acts of patriotic ritual, like saying the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs are most frequently performed in the classroom. More than 99% of the surveyed classrooms displayed the American Flag; more than 90% of the teachers reported that the children said the pledge to the flag daily; fifty-eight percent of the teachers of grade 2 reported that a patriotic song was sung daily. Although it is debatable whether the school is the only agent serving to socialize the child into national feeling, time each day is spent fostering a sense of awe and submission with regard to the symbols of government and stressing the group nature of national feeling.

With regard to the Soviet Union and communism, even by grade four most children have quite accurate ideas about the relation between communism and Russia (foreign countries are not all communist, but neither is communism limited to Russia). (See Table C-4). And the majority of children agree with the commonly presented image of Russia (lack of freedom particularly in voting choice, less wealth, and government control). However, fewer fourth graders than sixth and eighth graders are informed on these matters. The majority of fourth graders and nearly all sixth and eighth graders expressed the belief that the Communists want to take over our country; a somewhat smaller but still large percentage agreed to the somewhat more loaded statement "We can never relax as long as there are any Communists in our country." See Table C-6. Table C-7 illustrates children's beliefs about the importance of Russia as a problem for the U.S. - ranking ahead of all others. The majority of children at all grades believed that it is the Russian leaders rather than the people of Russia who are the enemies of the United States - one way for children to displace the aggressive feelings upon a small group while prescribing friendliness and tolerance for the majority of the people.

Given these positions, what course do children believe the United States should follow. Unfortunately information on this was very limited. Children seem to prescribe for national and international relations much the same kind of behavior which they find prescribed for themselves as children. By displacing the blame for tension upon the Russian leaders, they can suggest that friendliness and tolerance is a possible course of action. But in this area, as well as in many other areas of national political socialization, children see this in an oversimplified way. They focus upon individual citizens having the ability to change international relations by personal acts of influence. In data concerning national politics this was called the "personal clout" illusion. For example, children believe that the individual citizen in America can have nearly as much influence on political action as highly organized interest groups. This is much of what children are taught as the ideals of citizen participation in government. Likewise friendliness on an individualized-international scale sounds plausible as an ideal but is naive and may even have some more negative consequences. It may stand in the way of the child developing realistic perceptions about international relations and the power involved in them; it may also cause a particularly strong disillusionment when the child discovers that the world is not made up of Russians and Red Chinese who can be converted to democracy by acts of personal friendliness. There is some suggestive evidence from the children who were studied in 1962 that political cynicism may result when the individual discovers that his control over the government is less than phrases like "the people rule" might suggest.

An interesting sidelight on the morality of international action posed by children is presented in Table C-5. There is a definite decline with age in agreement with the statement "It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people." National interest takes somewhat less priority in older children (though a substantial number of them still agree).

Targ Study

In connection with a study of the effects of simulation upon the attitudes of elementary school children, Targ (1967) sought to discover, using a semantic differential, how fourth through sixth grade children viewed their own nation (the United States) and three others (the Soviet Union, China, and Canada). The interpretations of age trends in these data must be qualified by the fact that the children were not all from the same school. For this reason no significance tests are reported.[6]

In all grade groups the United States was perceived as the strongest country with Russia a close second in rank; Canada and China were rated much lower. Children in all three grades about equally saw the Soviet Union and the U.S. as strong; a larger proportion of sixth graders than fourth graders viewed the Soviet Union as important. As their grade level increased children seemed to see China as somewhat more important. The strength and importance of Canada appeared relatively constant across groups. (See Table C-8).

Targ found, as shown in Table C-9, that on the affective dimension children increasingly with grade level perceived the United States as kind and good and increasingly saw the Soviet Union and China as bad and cruel. In other words, the evaluation of the two countries seems to become considerably more differentiated for older children.

Targ suggested that those fourth graders who saw the Soviet Union and China as good still maintained a "sugar-coated" evaluation of the world and its social and political components (as expressed by Greenstein, pp. 27-54), and the reciprocity, unencumbered by adult predispositions postulated by Piaget (Piaget and Weil, 1951, p. 578).

> The sugar-coating and unencumbered reciprocity probably also help explain the constant and continuing positive evaluation of Canada. Since children probably have not received many negative evaluative messages from their social environment concerning Canada, the initial positive orientation may maintain itself over time. The relevance of adult cold war dialogue transmitted through home, school, and media to childhood political orientation cannot be overemphasized (Targ, p.75).

In addition to perceptions of the four nations, the Targ study also examined selected aspects of children's understandings of several other international processes. Targ found that children in all three grades studied evidenced a basic understanding of the processes and functions of international trade. In all three classes they believed trade with other countries was an important aspect of international life. Approximately ninety percent of the children at all grade levels agreed that trading benefits both nations involved and understood that all kinds of products may be traded.

Regarding economic development Targ observed relationships between grade and understanding. See Table C-10. Less than forty percent of fourth and fifth graders adequately identified development whereas fifty-two percent of the sixth graders did so. Targ found that, contrary to expectations, the increasing awareness of what the process of economic development entails was not coupled with a growing awareness of industrialism as a crucial aspect of this process. In fact, there was an inverse relationship between grade and identification of industrialism as relevant to the achievement of status as a great nation.

When children were asked whether countries invested in industries to develop their economies, to make war, to sign peace treaties, or to win elections, - i.e., to distinguish the purposes of industrial invest-

Table C-8

Ratings of Four Nations on Strong - Weak, Important - Unimportant (Targ's Data).

United States

Grade	N	Weak	DK	Strong	N	Unimportant	DK	Important
4	59	5%	12%	83%	59	3%	9%	88%
5	76	8	5	87	77	3	9	88
6	100	3	5	92	100	3	6	91

Soviet Union

Grade	N	Weak	DK	Strong	N	Unimportant	DK	Important
4	54	9%	15%	76%	55	18%	24%	58%
5	75	15	13	72	77	14	17	69
6	99	8	9	83	99	6	13	81

Canada

Grade	N	Weak	DK	Strong	N	Unimportant	DK	Important
4	56	7%	32%	61%	56	7%	20%	73%
5	75	17	19	64	76	8	9	83
6	97	12	21	67	97	10	17	73

China

Grade	N	Weak	DK	Strong	N	Unimportant	DK	Important
4	58	22%	21%	57%	58	17%	22%	51%
5	75	20	11	69	77	21	17	62
6	98	17	15	68	98	12	14	74

Table C-9

Ratings of Four Nations on Good - Bad, Kind - Cruel Factors (Targ's Data)

United States

Grade	N	Bad	DK	Good	N	Cruel	DK	Kind
4	59	5%	19%	76%	59	8%	17%	75%
5	77	0	10	90	76	7	13	80
6	101	1	6	93	101	4	10	86

Soviet Union

Grade	N	Bad	DK	Good	N	Cruel	DK	Kind
4	57	32%	21%	47%	54	43%	22%	35%
5	78	45	23	32	75	51	24	25
6	100	49	19	22	99	71	19	10

Canada

Grade	N	Bad	DK	Good	N	Cruel	DK	Kind
4	57	2%	7%	91%	55	0%	6%	94%
5	77	1	4	95	76	3	1	96
6	98	1	1	98	97	2	5	93

China

Grade	N	Bad	DK	Good	N	Cruel	DK	Kind
4	59	27%	24%	49%	57	29%	30%	41%
5	77	60	18	22	77	66	14	20
6	98	68	16	16	98	69	19	12

Table C-10

Correctness of Beliefs Concerning Economic Development (Targ's Data)

Economic development refers to getting rich:

Grade	N	Correct	Incorrect
4	61	38%	62%
5	79	33	67
6	103	52	48

Nations must have industries for greatness:

Grade	N	Correct	Incorrect
4	61	67%	33%
5	79	54	46
6	103	51	49

Countries invest in industries to develop their economies:

Grade	N	Correct	Incorrect
4	61	79%	21%
5	79	84	16
6	103	87	13

Leaders of poor countries should invest in industries:

Grade	N	Correct	Incorrect
4	61	36%	64%
5	79	44	56
6	103	43	57

ment from very diverse kinds of goals - all grades evidenced high levels of understanding of this purpose of industrialization. A similar high level of understanding was found when industrialization and military preparedness were used to define "a powerful country." Nine out of ten children in each grade saw "a large army and lots of industries" as necessary components of powerful national status.

Children had some difficulty in specifying what measures they would take if they were leaders of poor nations. Some chose to give most of their country's money to their citizens and others chose to make peace treaties. Less than half of each grade said they would "invest in industries." Although children, increasingly with age, define economic development correctly and recognize the necessity of industrial growth, they do not grasp the process of growth as investment in industry.

Targ also probed children's understanding of the foreign policy-making process. Children were asked if heads of state should consider the effect of decisions on citizens, advisors, the economy, or all three when making decisions. As Table C-11 indicates, fourth graders perceived the relevance of all three factors much less frequently than did children in the fifth and sixth grades:

Table C-11. Correctness of Beliefs Concerning Decision-Making by Head of State
(Targ's data)

Heads of State should consider citizens, advisors and the economy when making decisions:

Grade	N	Correct	Incorrect
4	61	13%	87%
5	79	39	61
6	103	39	61

DiVesta Data Re-analyzed

An article by DiVesta (1966) is one of a series growing out of a study supported by NIMH which dealt extensively with the development of semantic structures in children. Three separate studies were conducted with various samples of children in grades 2 through 7, requiring them to rate various concepts on various semantic differential scales (presented in a slightly modified format with labels at each scale point).

To summarize very briefly the general findings with regard to reliability of these judgments, they found that with immediate retest the form-form correlations for factor scores ranged from .64 to .75

in 3rd, 5th and 7th grade children. Reliability was considerably lower in delayed retest, particularly with the younger children.

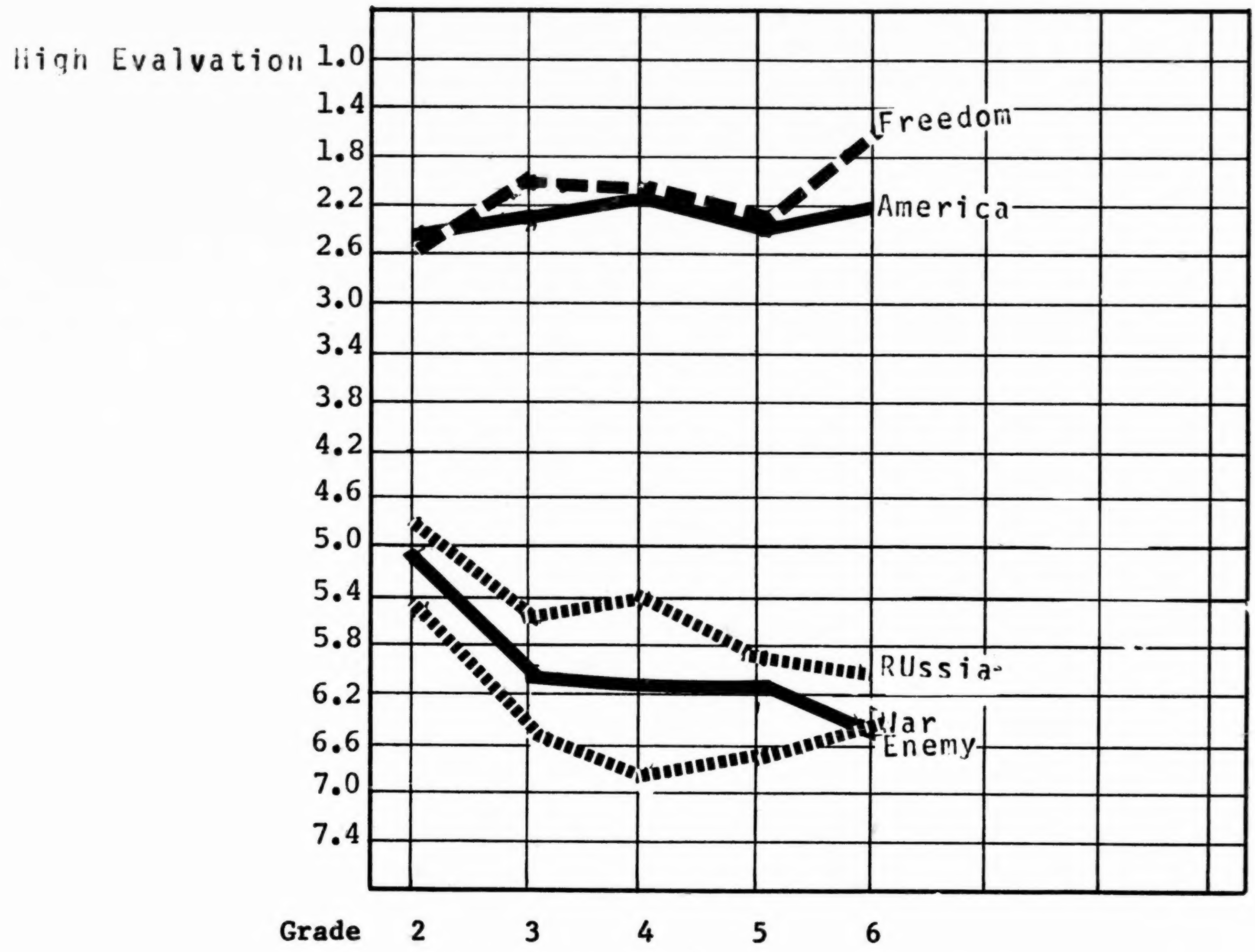
With respect to their original interest in semantic structure, they found that the factors evaluation, potency, and activity were most important in describing the semantic space of children, just as with adults. They also used an index of polarity - the degree to which judgments deviated from a neutral point. The authors assume that an increase in polarity means an increase in the meaningfulness of a concept. They found that 40 percent of the abstract concepts increased in polarity with age, while 7% declined; of the concrete concepts included, 28% increased in polarity while 23% declined. This is valuable to keep in mind when summarizing some other studies which use concepts such as freedom and peace. In this particular study the concept peace was one of the concepts which increased in polarity on the evaluation dimension for older children.

In addition to the published material, the raw data was obtained from the author and from the American Documentation Institute, and reanalyzed from the point of view of actual content of rating rather than structure or polarity. The concepts America, Russia, Enemy, Freedom, and War (along with 15 others) had been rated on 37 semantic differential scales by second to sixth grade children (100 at each grade level; approximately equal numbers of boys and girls). Factor scores had been computed as follows: Evaluation (good-bad, friendly-unfriendly); Potency (strong-weak); Size (big-small, long-short); Activity (fast-slow, moving-still); and Warmth (hot-cold, dry-wet). Figures 1 and 2 are a graphic presentation of the developmental changes in these content ratings. The significance unit, used as the ordinate unit on the graphs, was obtained from an estimate of the standard deviation contained in DiVesta and Walls (1969) treated by the method described in Hess and Torney (1967) - producing a rough index of the significance of group differences. Two concept means or grade group means which differ by one graphing unit are different at approximately the .05 level of statistical significance.

The most general conclusion from these data is that there is a limited or at least gradual developmental change in the ratings of these concepts. The evaluation factor is the one on which the children most clearly differentiate the concepts. America and Freedom are viewed very positively while Russia, Enemy, and War are viewed very negatively. There is little change with age, with the exception of a slight decrease in evaluation of the three negative concepts between grades 2 and 3 and a slight increase in evaluation of freedom between grades 7 and 8. Perhaps the stamping-in process by which children seem to acquire negative evaluations of enemies (like Russia) and of war is not fully complete by grade 2. Although no directly relevant correlational evidence was available, it seems from an examination of the other factors that the children's evaluative feelings about Russia, in particular, influence the ratings made on the other factors. America is rated on the size factor as bigger than Russia though sixth graders are beginning to decrease the size of the rating difference. It is also interesting to note that on the size factor Enemy is rated at the neutral

FIGURE 1

Comparison of Means of
Grades 2 through 6 in
Ratings on Evaluative
Factor



Data from study
by Francis J.
DiVesta

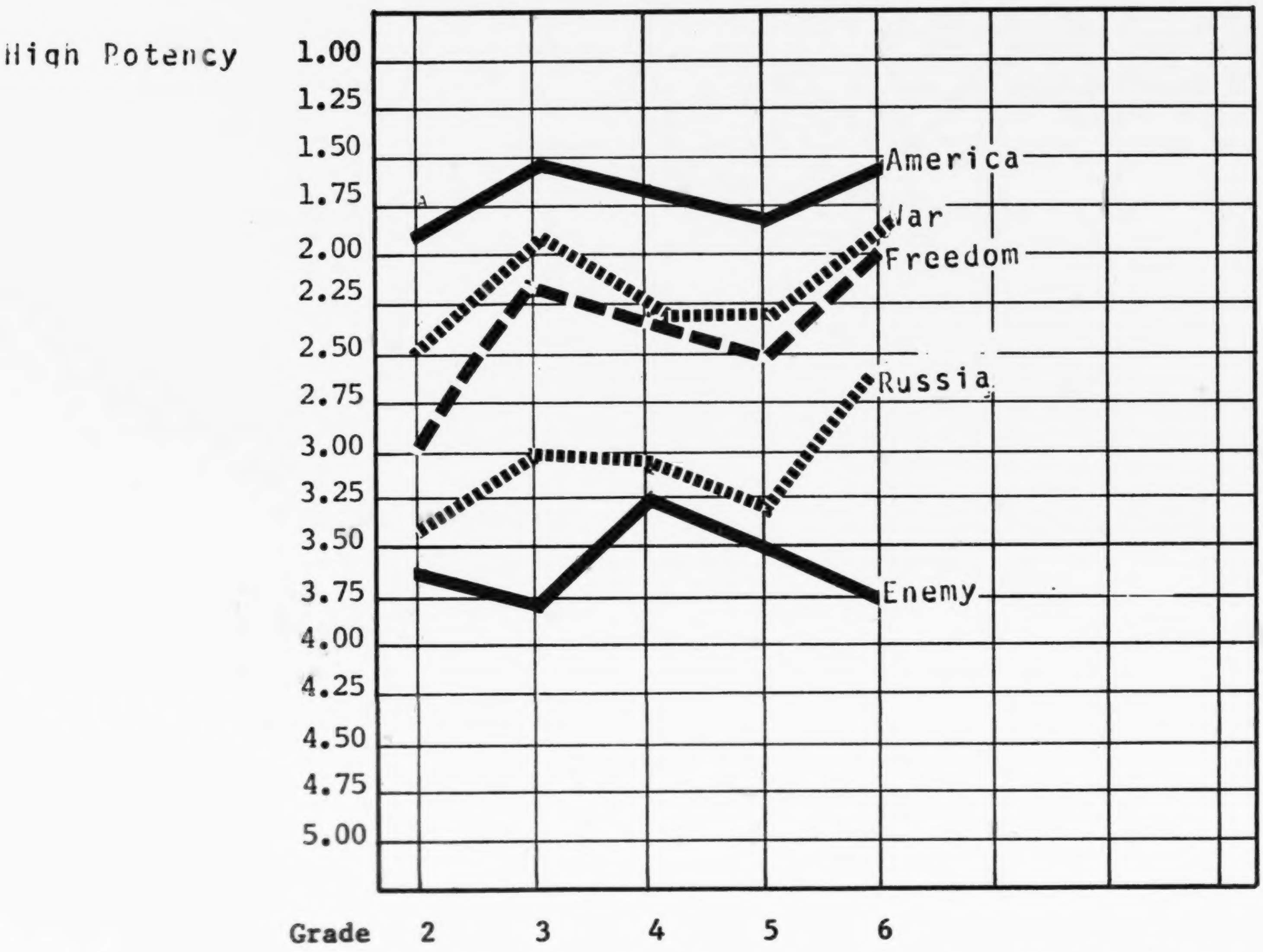
Index Scale: 1- good and friendly
7- bad and unfriendly

N: 100 each grade

Significance Unit: .4

FIGURE 2

Comparison of Means of
Grades 2 through 6 in
Ratings on Potency Factor



Data from study
by Francis J.
DiVesta

Index Scale: 1- Strong
7- Weak

N: 100 each grade

Significance Unit: .25

point and considerably below Russia, unlike the evaluative factor where enemy and Russia have practically identical mean ratings. The Potency factor (strong-weak) presents a similar picture. America (and also Freedom) are rated here as stronger than Russia (with the sixth graders moving to a higher rating of Russia). Once again Enemy (in the abstract) is rated at the neutral point. In summary, America is both stronger and bigger than Russia; Russia, in turn, is stronger and bigger than Enemy considered as a general concept.

The Activity factor shows considerably less differentiation between concepts. The most interesting trend here is the increase starting at the fourth grade in the perceived activity of America, taking it from a position undifferentiated from Russia to one clearly higher.. The Warmth factor seems quite inappropriate for ratings of these concepts as they are all rated very near the neutral point. (Graph not included.)

The evaluative ratings substantiate findings of Targ (1967) and of Torney and Hess (in preparation) that America and freedom are very highly valued early in elementary school while Russia is very negatively valued. The evaluations change very little with age and influence ratings of other aspects of the countries (like size and strength). Older children appear to be slightly more able to see the size and strength of Russia in more realistic terms.

Morrison Study

Morrison (1967) studied the attitudes of two hundred British secondary school students toward international affairs, focusing on their ideas about East-West relations and the "cold war." None of the students had yet had any formal instruction on international relations. He found that all of his subjects had coherent views on East-West relations, that these attitudes were modeled somewhat after those of adults, and that Protestant and Roman Catholic children differed in their evaluations of countries.

Because of the lack of suitable measures of attitudes toward international affairs, the measurement techniques were fairly elementary. Four complementary approaches were used to compensate for the deficiencies of each individual measure.

The students made ratings, on a common set of four evaluation semantic differential scales, of My Country, China, Russia, U.S.A., Christianity and Communism. Three objects with significant differences between mean scores of denominational groups were further examined according to sex and socio-economic level. Table C-12 shows that girls gave more favorable evaluations of China than did boys, while boys' attitudes toward Russia were less disapproving than were girls'. Roman Catholic children gave more negative responses to Communism, Russia and China than did Protestant children. There were no significant differences between groups on evaluations of West items, and all the groups responded more favorable to West than East items. Socio-economic level did not produce any significant differences.

Table C-12. Mean Evaluative Scores for Countries and Beliefs

	Girls			Boys		
	Protestant	Roman Catholic	t	Protestant	Roman Catholic	t
Christianity	23.8	24.8	ns	25.0	24.8	ns
My Country	22.8	21.8	ns	22.8	23.3	ns
U.S.A.	21.8	20.9	ns	22.4	21.8	ns
Communism	13.3	9.5	xxx	13.0	10.6	x
Russia	17.7	15.8	x	18.7	16.7	x
China	17.4	14.4	xx	15.0	12.9	x

t tests for differences between Protestants and Catholics. Adapted from Table 1 on Morrison (1967) by rounding off original data.

Approved relations between Britain and the U.S.A., Russia and China were investigated by use of a scale of political distance on which students indicated limits to which they would like Britain to go in her relations with other countries. A close correspondence was found between the pattern of the students' evaluations of countries and their feelings about relations with them. Generally, the children were in favor of both trade and defense cooperation with the U.S.A., mutually favorable trade with Russia, and trade with China only if it was to Britain's advantage. These preferred levels of relations are similar to actual relationships, although necessarily simplified. In addition, each individual's attitudes toward a country and the preferred relation with that country were found to be consistent (with the exception of Protestant girls where no association was apparent).

Preferences for courses of action in conflict situations were elicited by each student's indicating which of two actions he would prefer that the U.S.A. take to handle hypothetical situations. The students also gave their reasons for each decision. The situations were:

(i) The signing of a nuclear test ban treaty by the U.S.A. and Russia. The choice lay between strictly adhering to the treaty, or pretending to do so whilst attempting to carry on further secret testing.

(ii) A civil war between communist and non-communist sides in a small but important country. The choice lay between intervention or non-intervention.

(iii) A very serious quarrel between the U.S.A. and Russia. The choice lay between declaring war or not.

In response to Situation (i), three-quarters of the students favored the U.S.A.'s attempting secret testing, and the dominant reason was an expectation that Russia would do the same. The minority of students favoring strict adherence to the treaty either claimed a moral obligation on the part of the U.S.A. or else suggested serious consequences and future distrust if the secret testing was uncovered. Two-thirds of the students favored American intervention in the civil war of Situation (ii), arguing that Communism must be contained. Those opposed to intervention believed that it would lead to an escalation of the conflict. In Situation (iii), over eighty percent of the students did not want the U.S.A. to declare war, and the dominant reason was a fear of mutual destruction. Neither religion nor sex produced any significant differences in patterns of response.

In an open-end questionaire the students were asked to define Communism and give reasons for some people's dislike of it, and to tell what might cause a war between the U.S.A. and Russia and who would be to blame. A quarter of the students responded to the first question by describing Communism as a form of authoritarian government. Another quarter of the responses dealt with such ideas as social equality and a classless society. In the largest category, over forty percent of the students made references to the ideological characteristics of Communism, typically asserting that Communism is atheistic and opposed to Christian teaching and churches; some expressed the attitude that Communism is itself a form of religion. In explaining their personal dislike of Communism, only two-thirds of the students gave explicit answers, the others making vague references to Communism as being "wrong," "bad," and "unfair." Thirty percent of the responses, mostly Roman Catholic girls, expressed dislike on ideological grounds and referred to "paganism" and "anti-religious attitudes." Other responses showed opposition to collectivism and to lack of individual political freedom. In reference to a hypothetical war, the majority of students saw it as a mutual responsibility, the major possible causes arising from rivalry over control of space, from nuclear weapons or, less specifically, from national rivalry.

Morrison's findings reveal a wide variety of differences in the development of the students' attitudes and understanding of East-West relations. "At one extreme are those who possess no more than a few random and stereotyped evaluations of the countries and beliefs involved, have highly distorted beliefs and often support these with crude associations about the policies and peoples of other countries." In contrast, many of the students revealed conventional and coherent concepts not very different from those of adults. These included "awareness of an ideological as well as nationalistic conflict; distrust of the intentions of the East countries; and a 'morality' of Western self-interest in which limited war is viable, and intervention is justified by the need to contain Communism and to maintain a balance of power." Differences between Protestant and Roman Catholic views arise from the fact, Morrison reasons, that the Roman Catholic students had been exposed to additional influence reinforcing their disapproval of Eastern countries and Communism. Girls were both more disapproving of and sensitive to ideological definitions and dislikes of Communism.

Implications of these findings for education are difficult to assess until children's responses to different methods of communication are investigated. It is clear, nonetheless, that many secondary school-age children possess to varying degrees well-established beliefs about East-West affairs. Courses dealing with the history of East-West relations, therefore, may accomplish little more than make more rigid a "cold war" concept. Presentation of new ideas, however, would almost surely be met by these firmly established attitudes and the students would be extremely selective in accepting views different from their own, he concludes.

Beyer and Hicks Study

Beyer and Hicks (1968) in a mimeographed report covering Project Africa, a social studies curriculum project, report the results of two instruments designed to assess the stereotyped attitudes and the knowledge of terms, facts, and trends respectively in 7th and 12th graders in 28 school districts located throughout the United States. These grades were chosen to include students both before and after a generally prescribed course of study on Africa.

The authors developed a measure of the image and stereotyping of Africa South of the Sahara. Twenty-five terms selected by a panel of judges as stereotyped views of Africa were included in a set of stimulus words along with 65 other words - some associated with other parts of the world, others with modern industrial society, still others that could apply to any region depending on one's point of view. These 90 concepts (each on a card) along with a two-color 9 X 16 outline map of the world divided into seven regions (including Africa South of the Sahara) comprised the test materials. The task was to place each card on the region of the world best described by that word - and later to place the cards into envelopes labeled with each of seven regions. No reference was made to Africa per se in the instruction. More than three thousand students were tested. Part of the analysis of this instrument is presented in Table C-13. On a purely chance basis, each term could be expected to be associated with a particular given region by 14.29% of the students. However, only those terms associated with a region by at least 25% of the students were indicated by the authors as peculiarly descriptive of this part of the world. This was the basis of their analysis for the content of the image of Africa.

A further index of stereotype was computed. This index ranged from 0 to 1; the more agreement among students as to which region of the world is best described by a particular word, the stronger the stereotype. This stereotype index was higher for 12th graders than for 7th graders. Among 12th graders 80% of the ninety stimulus words were chosen in such a way to produce a Degree of Stereotype over .170; corresponding to this in seventh graders was a figure of 63%. This grade difference held in all types of schools and geographical areas. However, at both grade levels the stereotyping was least strong in rural areas and least strong in the West. The stereotyping tendency, it should be noted, was true not only for judgment of words describing Africa but for all geographical areas.

The content of the actual image of Africa may be assessed as follows:

Table C-13

Stimulus Terms Placed in Various Regions By 25% Or More Seventh and Twelfth Grade Students

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

Stimulus Terms	Percent	
	7th	12th
Wild Animals	87.3	91.4
Daktari	85.3	90.7
Elephants	84.3	86.7
Witch Doctors	84.7	92.8
Jungles	79.6	76.1
Tigers	79.4	77.7
Spears	79.2	89.7
Tribe	78.4	88.2
Natives	78.0	86.5
Poison Darts	77.6	82.1
Drums	77.3	91.0
Black	76.9	89.5
Savages	75.9	88.1
Cannibals	69.1	84.9
Naked	68.0	78.2
Pygmies	64.9	84.1
Huts	59.0	69.4
Snakes	55.4	56.4
*Villages	49.4	41.4
Superstition	48.5	68.8
*Disease	46.5	39.0
Primitive	46.0	69.0
Hot	42.0	39.0
Strange	40.6	44.2
*Deserts	35.8	29.3
*Dirty	35.2	-
Underdeveloped	33.6	32.1
Missionaries	33.6	52.5
No History	26.9	38.2
Poor	26.2	-
Backward	25.1	43.6
Illiterate	-	42.4

NORTH AMERICA

Stimulus Terms	Percent	
	7th	12th
Television	92.3	95.5
Houses	88.4	92.9
Department Store	88.1	95.0
Schools	88.0	89.6
Freedom	87.4	94.7
Automobiles	87.4	92.8
*Well-Educated	83.7	75.6
Clean	82.4	90.8
White	81.2	78.4
Railroad	78.6	78.7
Civilized	77.8	78.7
Rich	76.9	88.8
Cities	76.8	80.2
Lakes	75.0	81.1
Industry	73.0	88.1
Democracy	69.3	95.6
Bonanza	69.2	80.5
Churches	63.1	61.9
Christian	61.5	67.6
Powerful	61.2	71.7
Brave	60.6	74.2
Cattle	56.3	57.9
Beautiful	52.9	55.9
Folk Songs	52.8	56.6
Religion	51.6	54.3
*Friend	51.0	34.4
Dance	50.8	55.8
Farms	49.0	56.0
Capitalism	46.7	54.8
Peace	45.8	57.8
Racial Problems	44.3	89.1
Forests	43.9	46.7
*Mineral Wealth	42.4	35.0
Glorious Past	41.1	41.1
*Socialism	40.5	-
Fishing	38.7	44.6
*Oil	37.2	-
Music	32.1	25.7
Plantations	31.9	34.1
Mountains	28.1	-
Trade	-	30.2

Table C-13 (continued)

EUROPE

Stimulus Terms	Percent 7th	Percent 12th
Art	56.5	80.0
Sculpture	52.7	75.4
Music	44.8	60.6
Trade	31.4	40.5
Beautiful	29.2	29.3
Fishing	28.8	27.1
Glorious Past	27.8	41.7
Friend	-	46.7
Churches	-	30.5
Neutrality	-	39.8

SOUTH AMERICA

Stimulus Terms	Percent 7th	Percent 12th
Plantations	44.4	55.4
Palm Trees	42.2	42.8
Hot	32.5	34.8
Snakes	29.4	34.7
*Trade	25.6	-
Weak	-	29.2
Grasslands	-	28.9
Neutrality	-	27.4
Underdeveloped	-	26.3
Villages	-	25.8

MIDDLE EAST

Stimulus Terms	Percent 7th	Percent 12th
Deserts	35.0	45.6
Temples	30.0	38.2
Muslim	27.8	39.2
Oil	-	38.4

ASIA

Stimulus Terms	Percent 7th	Percent 12th
Overpopulated	44.2	70.7
Buddhist	37.0	60.3
Hindu	36.4	58.9
Malnutrition	32.7	57.4
Poor	31.9	45.7
Temples	-	42.7
Disease	-	40.4
Dirty	-	38.7
Muslim	-	32.1
Violence	-	27.4
Underdeveloped	-	26.2

RUSSIA

Stimulus Terms	Percent 7th	Percent 12th
Enemy	68.2	75.6
Dictatorship	46.4	70.0
*Violence	36.7	26.2
Cold	46.3	81.6
Powerful	28.5	-
Strange	25.8	-
Socialism	-	57.7

Notes - * 12th graders less likely than 7th graders to attribute concept to this area. Criterion 5% or more difference.
- less than 25%
Table adopted from Beyer and Hicks (1968)

> To American seventh and twelfth graders, Africa south of the Sahara seems to be a primitive, backward, underdeveloped land with no history - a hot, strange land of jungles and deserts, populated with wild animals such as elephants, tigers, and snakes and by black, naked savages, cannibals and pygmies. Missionaries and witch doctors vie for control of the natives, who live in villages, are prone to superstition and disease, and who hunt with spears and poison darts when not sitting in front of their huts beating on drums. (Beyer and Hicks, 1968, p.19)

In a second part of the survey, an attempt was made to assess knowledge both specific and general about Africa. This included questions about physical geography, history before European penetration, history of Europeans in Africa, indigenous society, economic development, and current affairs, A sixty item test was constructed using standard item judgment, reliability of two forms, and analysis for difficulty and discrimination. (Reliability was about .60 for 7th graders, .80 for twelfth graders). 845 seventh graders and 794 twelfth graders took this instrument. The knowledge about Africa South of the Sahara was limited at both grade levels - the mean score (out of 60 possible) being 18.78 for 7th graders and 25.11 for 12th graders (a significant increase, however). Both groups scored highest on questions related to economic development, trade and products. History of Africa before European penetration was the subtest with the smallest proportion of correct answers. No regional or urban-suburban differences were noted, except that rural groups were the lowest scores. The authors also report an ingenious analysis of misconceptions about Africa utilizing questions where 45% or more of the students selected the same incorrect response - in five cases identical misconceptions for 7th and 12th graders. The fact that students who scored highest on the test in total score were just as likely as others to hold the common misconceptions about Africa suggests that students actually may be learning misinformation (rather than simply lacking correct information). "The misconceptions may be built into the courses of study followed in secondary school; they may result from unbalanced treatments of the topic in various instructional materials; or they may come from the popular media." (Beyer and Hicks, 1968, p.31)

> The mis-information that students have about Africa may come primarily from the popular media. While students may never have heard of Africa's sudanic kingdoms, they probably have heard of Tarzan, Jungle Jim, and King Solomon's Mines. If Tarzan lives in the jungles along with his lion and elephant friends, and this is all that a student knows about Africa, the student's image of Africa will certainly not be accurate. If a student has seen innumerable drawings or animated cartoons of missionaries in the cooking pot with savages dancing around the fire, but has never seen a photograph of an African farmer or fisherman, he will not have a balanced image of the region. As long as students go to camp and sing about Zulu kings sitting underneath coconut trees, and as long as such songs are their chief source of information, their image of Africa south of the Sahara will be distorted.

> No doubt the current content of the popular media presents a somewhat more accurate view than has been true in the past. However, it will take more than Clarence the Cross-eyed Lion to erase the image of Africa south of the Sahara that American students presently hold.
>
> Much of the accurate information about Africa that students receive, they receive from formal instruction in social studies classrooms. Since the majority of social studies teachers are not well informed about the region, the type of information that students receive is determined primarily by the instructional materials used in these classrooms. Usually the information contained in commercial instructional materials...is accurate, although sometimes certain misconceptions about Africa are so widely held that they will slip in. In addition many of the materials are very much out-of-date, for what may have been true of Africa five years ago may very well not be true of it today. The problem, therefore, with instructional materials is usually less one of accuracy of information, than it is one of lack of balance and up-to-dateness in the information presented.
>
> This lack of balance is especially noticeable in the elementary grades. Here instruction about Africa south of the Sahara tends to focus on the strange and the bizarre. There are very few pygmies in Africa in relation to the total population; yet, in terms of what students study in elementary school, pygmies would seem to be a major segment of the population - or, in some cases, the total population. Since pygmies live for the most part in rainforest areas, the image of Africa as a land covered by jungle is reinforced.
>
> Where broader coverage is given to Africa, the strange animals, the gold and diamonds of Southern Africa, and the tall, graceful Tutsi warriors are other favorite topics of study. For the most part the specific information is accurate, or at least was, when the material was prepared. However, when the study of Africa south of the Sahara focuses on these and only these topics, the resultant image and knowledge is most inaccurate and misleading. (Beyer and Hicks, 1968, pp.33-34)

Table C-13 (modified from data in the original report) presents in one table the results from both 7th and 12th graders use of the map instrument. The increasing tendency of certain stimulus words to be associated with particular geographical areas is very evident here simply by noticing the small number of concepts where the percentage of twelfth graders choosing a particular adjective is smaller than the proportion of seventh graders. We feel it appropriate to consider the meaning of Beyer and Hicks' measure of stereotype. If the task had required children to indicate all areas to which a given concept could be applied and the student had chosen only Africa (or only North America) that would, in our opinion, have been a clear indication of stereotype; likewise if under the same condition students had chosen no general term commonly between North America and Africa (terms like Forests, Folk Songs, Cattle for example) stereotype would have been clear. However, it is not surprising that when the task is to find that single area which is most closely linked to a concept, Pygmies, Natives, Witch Doctors, and Elephants are associated with Africa more than with any other areas. The rise in proportion of 12th graders who make this choice does not, to our thinking, indicate increased stereotype within these students but rather the fact that more of the older students have taken on the primary association which appears to be prominent in the popular as well as the curricular culture. The random choice model used by Beyer and Hicks here does not seem appropriate. In summary, stereotype has not been measured well and its degree has probably been over estimated. Nevertheless, this method gives a fascinating picture of the content of the African image (as well as of the images of the other countries). Before pointing out some rather more general (and less African) implications of the data, the finding (previously cited) of misinformation and low levels of information among these students seems much more disturbing than the fact that 12th graders think Witch Doctors are more characteristic of Africa than they are of other countries.

Looking from a total world perspective, the concurrence of students in the use of adjectives to describe all parts of the world increases over the 5 year age period. Some of the age changes per se are interesting to note - particularly those concepts in which the trend for twelfth graders to choose a concept more than seventh graders is reversed. For example, the percentage of seventh graders who choose Disease as associated Africa is nearly 47; a smaller but still sizeable 39% of twelfth graders still associate Disease with Africa. Fewer than 25% of seventh graders associate Disease with Asia - 40% of 12th graders make this association. The tendency is very similar for the concept Dirty - associated with Africa by 35% of 7th graders and less than 25% of twelfth graders - associated with Asia by less than 25% of 7th graders and 39% of 12th graders. Stereotypes of poverty appear to become associated with the poor continents. It is clear from this and other data that negative associations to both Africa and Asia are frequent, and that Asia is faring little better with regard to affective tone than is Africa. The image of South America is not dissimilar. The Middle East had few concepts tailored to it, but it is also interesting that it is for twelfth graders more a locale of Deserts, replacing Africa at least for some students.

The three major developed areas are interesting to contrast as well. Russia has a clearly negative image (little surprise from all other data) and its negativeness has a particularly political character (Dictatorship, and for twelfth graders Socialism). It is interesting to note the change in association of Socialism between the 7th and 12th graders. Slightly more than 40% of 7th graders associated Socialism with North America fewer than 25% of 12th graders did so. Fewer than 25% of 7th graders associated Socialism with Russia; nearly 60% of twelfth graders did. This is clearly a result of increasing sophistication,not increasing stereotype for the 12th graders.

These findings, along with some other similar concept switches (from the appropriateness of oil for North America in 7th grade to Middle East in 12th grade) suggest that at least some of the content and conceptual part of the curriculum is forming accurate stereotypes, i.e. oil is more likely to be found in the Middle East than North America and Socialism in Russia more clearly than North America.

One of the reasons for the detail here with respect to these data is the fascinating and creative nature of the instrument used and the representativeness and size of the sample tested. The data deserve analysis from a variety of perspectives, only one of which has been taken here.

Lambert and Klineberg Study

All social scientific inquiry confronts a problem of cultural bias, and there is good reason to expect that in the case of socialization research the problem of culturally bounded findings and limited generalizations is particularly acute. (See Delin, 1965) There is no complete answer to this problem, but comparative cross-national studies provide one important means of reducing the effects of cultural bias. Moreover, the mapping of cross-national differences and similarities in the content and process of international socialization constitutes in its own right a very important domain of research. There is a slowly accumulating body of comparative research on national political socialization,[10] but with the exception of one study of war cited in the following section, to our knowledge there is only one large-scale cross-national study of children's international orientations.[11] This is the Lambert and Klineberg (1967) study of stereotyping and national attitudes.

In reviewing the sources of their interest they cited four types of research in adult stereotyping. The first type is checklist research which uses the number of adjectives which college students check as descriptive of other nations. A second type of study has dealt with collective stereotypes by analyzing the content of mass media in their presentation of different racial and ethnic groups. The third type was most clearly represented in The Authoritarian Personality, as a predecessor of many other studies investigating the personality concomitants of a tendency to be ethnocentric or stereotyped in one's thinking. The fourth type was the experimental situation exemplified by the work of Sherif.

Lambert and Klineberg used a structured interview schedule, with 3,300 children at three age levels (6, 10, and 14 years), from 11 parts of the world. The material gathered in the U. S. was gathered in Watertown, Massachusetts and included both boys and girls from the upper, middle and working classes. The following are conclusions from the author's profile of the responses of American children. Children in the U. S. do not think of themselves primarily in terms of national background. This was inferred from answers to the first question in the interview schedule, "What are you?" Less than 10 percent of the children in Watertown referred to themselves as "American" or as being from New England. The most popular response was to say that they were a girl or boy. When these children were asked for adjectives to describe their national group, they placed special emphasis on "wealthy" and "free." This was in contrast to other countries, such as Japan, in which children frequently referred to themselves as "bad" and "poor." Children were also asked what nationality they would wish to be if they were not American. Most said they would not wish to be of any other nationality; particularly, they disclaimed any desire to be Russian because of "aggressive" people there and because of political domination. Mention of Russia as an undesirable place to live increased with age in all nations except Germany. American children would not have preferred to be African either because of perceived cultural and environmental backwardness of African nations. China was frequently mentioned as undesirable though a smaller number of 10 and 14 year olds mention it than 6 year olds. Among the foreign nations tested there were interesting clusters in reasons for choosing to be of another nationality; some stressed wealth of desirable countries, others peacefulness, still others culture.

Among the most important questions were those to determine whether children perceived a country as similar to or different from their own; children were also asked in what ways the countries were similar or different. The groups which were perceived by American children of all ages as predominantly different were Chinese, Indians from India, Negroes from Africa, and Russians. Younger children tended either to give no response or to determine similarity or difference on the basis of clothing, physical characteristics, and language. Ten year old children often referred to habits and material possessions, while political characteristics and habits were the predominant focus of 14 year olds. Americans were considered by a relatively large proportion of children of all foreign groups except Bantu to be like themselves; in certain countries there was also a substantial group who considered Americans "not like us."

American children stood out from the other groups in the degree of their liking for people of different countries, particularly as this liking was not directly correlated with similarity. In other words, American children seemed to express interest and liking for people who were dissimilar from themselves as well as for those who were perceived as similar. This was in contrast with other countries in which testing was conducted.

The social class differences are quite interesting; lower class children in several countries (including the U. S.) were likely to view foreign peoples as similar but to express dislike for them. The authors suggest that "lower class children express dissatisfaction with their own lower class status by disliking foreign people in the same social status as their own. In contrast, middle class children...may be intrigued by the exotic differences of foreign peoples and therefore express affection for them." (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967, p.156)

In indicating the sources of their information about foreign peoples, American 6 year olds reported T.V. and movies particularly frequently (and parents somewhat less often). Ten and 14 year olds added books, courses, texts and magazines. Parents were more important informational sources for the young children in other countries. The authors felt they had insufficient information to do more than speculate about the effect of different information sources on the child.

Certain of the material which Lambert and Klineberg present on the stereotyping process, on the ways in which similarity and difference are defined, on the existence of stereotyped responses, and on age differences in feelings about foreign people are relevant. For our interest, some of the clearest results came from the total group including children from all countries. Early in the book, the following quotation appears: "Children in certain cultural settings consider themselves as minority or majority members of a world community." (Lambert & Klineberg, 1966, p. VII). It might be added that children in many parts of the world consider certain particular other groups as minority members of the world community. In particular, the Chinese and African Negroes were considered by children in many countries to be "not like us." The qualities which children in the total group used to determine similarity and differences were common or uncommon historical roots, geographic proximity or distance, similar or dissimilar customs and language. In other words these are the dimensions along which they found that children contrast themselves with other countries; these are the qualities of other countries which are retained from the massive information available to children about these countries. The authors also suggest this by looking at the child's stereotype of his own country. The perception of similarity between countries requires more ability to generalize than does consciousness of the difference between countries or groups because it involves placing one or more objects under the same category. Conceptual categorization is known to be a characteristic of cognitive development. In contrast, differences between countries can be perceived with less conceptual equipment. These authors suggest a better method which they did not use but which might be an appropriate one to assess these matters. Children would be asked to consider 3 nations one of them their own, and to tell which two nations are most alike and why.

A very important part of the results on similarity was their linkage of children's perceptions of nations as similar or dissimilar and the child's reported affection for these nations. In certain countries, only nations perceived as similar were nations to which children expressed any positive attitude or feeling. Children from United States, however, stood first or second at all age levels in their liking for foreign persons who were seen as dissimilar. The United States also scored relatively low on an ethnocentrism scale. They concluded that children in the United States, particularly those of about ten years of age, are particularly receptive to approaches to foreign people and are interested in people who are dissimilar as well as those who are similar. They point out also that by the age of fourteen, the children appear somewhat less open to positive views of foreign nations and relate this to the growing teenage concern with conformity and with attitudes as a method of reference group solidarity.

Another major contribution of this study was to point out the stereotyping which occurs in children's attitudes. In fact, the most general conclusion of the book was that stereotyping probably begins by the age of 6 as the child views his own country, not as he views other countries and people.

> Since the child's own group is repeatedly compared with other groups, it becomes, we presume, the focal point of developing conceptions, as its salient characteristics are magnified and stereotyped. We make this inference from our finding that the first signs of stereotyped thinking turned up in the description children gave of their own group rather than of foreign people; even at the six year age level many different national groups of children made over-generalized statements about the personality traits of their own group at the same time as they described foreign peoples in more factual objective terms. Thus, the stereotyping process itself appears to get its start in the early conceptions children develop of their own group, and it is only much later, from ten years of age and on, that children start stereotyping foreign people. (Lambert and Klineberg, pp. 223-224.)

The author attributes this in part to the older child's use of more subtle ways of characterizing other groups which are, one must assume, more subject to stereotyped notions. These authors inferred stereotype thinking from several types of data, among them what they call descriptive diversity or the tendency for children's free responses to cluster within a few general categories. Some of the distinctions which they make within this diverse characterization are confusing. They characterized separately the diversity of evaluation (that is, the number of different ways in which some one said that a country was good or bad) and the diversity of nonevaluative material. This was further confused by the fact that the two types of diversity were differentially related to certain other characteristics. Countries which were liked were generally seen by children in restrictive evaluation terms and diverse content terms. From this the authors attempt to infer whether information precedes attitudes or attitudes precede information without much explanatory success. American children in general ranked as lacking in diverse evaluation: that is, they would say, "they are kind," but would be highly diversed in their content descriptions. The one exception was that American children were notably lacking in diverse information in their description of African Negroes.

These authors used extensively two theoretical and experimental studies of the development of nationalism and prejudice to help in the interpretation of their descriptive data. They reviewed Piaget's suggestions that the young child assumes that the attitudes arising in his situation are the only possible ones - an egocentric approach. Only later in childhood does he acquire the understanding, for example, that he would be foreign if he visited another country and that others from different countries have different loyalties than his own. The authors do stress, however, the similarities of their findings to Piaget's idea that attitudes towards other countries may be derived vicariously and unsystematically from various information sources.

They also cite the work of Morse and Allport (1952) who found that exaggerated loyalty to one's own group or country and the identification of one's self with the national interest prejudice. However, this was a study of adults, not children. Lambert and Klineberg also found what they call a general ingroup-outgroup feeling among certain of their respondents, but do not specify how these data are related to prejudice.

Dennis Study

In a cross-national study with relevance primarily for understanding children's interpretation of cultural differences, Dennis (1966) studied drawings of men done by eleven, twelve, and thirteen year olds from the United States, Mexico and European, Middle Eastern and Asian countries. He proposed that their drawings reflect their positive social and cultural values.

Most of the drawings examined depicted modern man in Western dress. Even children of areas where native or traditional dress was predominant, such as children of Sudan and of a Japanese village, Navaho Indians and ultra-conservative Brooklyn Jewish offspring, drew men wearing modern clothing. Dennis interprets this as an indication of the youngsters' preference for modern life and predicts cultural change among these ethnic groups.

Caucasian children from North America, Europe and the Middle East seldom drew men of races other than their own; Chinese and Japanese children's drawings displayed Oriental features. American Negro youngsters, however, rarely drew Negroes. Dennis cites Myrdal (1944) to suggest that the American Negro disapproves of his own facial features, and adds that the Negro values highly the white's social position. The same holds true for the majority of the drawings by Sudanese Negroes which also represented white men.

Dennis also examined the drawings for such content as masculinity, work and religion. In the United States white Christians, Jews, Negroes and Navahos all hold a relatively uniform set of American cultural values. In contrast, Mexican Indians have made no comparable identification and are unsure of their social goals and group values. The Middle Eastern groups seem oriented toward European goals but have not fully accepted them.

Summary

The studies reported in this section are highly diverse in one respect and considerably lacking in diversity in another respect. They all make the assumption that the nation-state (one's own and others) is the major relevant attitude object. The scarcity of material for inclusion in the next section (on attitudes toward the UN) is further evidence of this pervasive bias. Studies in many countries and with varying focuses suggest that the perceived polarity of the United

States and Russia is linked to several aspects of the child's perception of the international world and that this attitude is formed at a very early age.

The studies of stereotyping are also rather discouraging (though for different reasons). The actual meaning of stereotype, a defensible measure for it, and the degree to which the concept is valuable in understanding how a child is restricted in dealing with the vast scope of the international world are unclear. Perhaps, given the nation-state system with its requirements of national allegiance, some stereotypes are the best adjustment we can expect from a child who has such a mass of information to cope with. To discard stereotypes in all forms might require rearing children practically from birth to appreciate diversity and to value some form of international loyalty.

Research on Pre-Adults' Attitudes Toward the U.N.

In addition to studies of children's orientations toward their own and other countries, there is some research focusing upon the development of children's orientations toward the United Nations.

In the Hess and Torney nationwide study, children were asked to indicate whether the United States or the United Nations made the greater contribution to world peace. At grade 2, only 14% of the children chose the United Nations as contributing more than the United States to preventing war. At grade 8, 87% of the children chose the United Nations. The most striking age trends in the attitude occurred before grade 6. (See Hess and Torney, 1967, Table 3).

The United Nations also was included in the nationwide questionnaire as one of a list of issues. The child was to indicate whether he had talked about each problem and, if so, whether he had taken sides. There was, as with all the issues, a clear increase with age in the percentage of children saying that they had discussed and taken sides in their discussion. The United Nations ranked second (the Space Race was first) in the percentage of children who reported having discussed it. "Giving money to other countries" was also of interest as an issue but to a somewhat lesser degree.

Approximately 70% of the children in the Hess-Torney pilot study felt that the U.N. does a good job in preventing wars. As far as suggesting changes in the U.N. about 45% of the children believed the U.S. ought to do more to support the U.N. while only 35% advocated the U.N. having more power over member countries. (See Table D-1)

Targ, in the study cited above, also examined children's beliefs about the United Nations. Comparing beliefs about membership with beliefs about functions, he found that children evidenced somewhat more awareness of the function of the organization than of facts about the proportion of the countries of the world who are members. The functioning of international organizations appears to be more understandable than are facts about organizational structure and membership, perhaps

Table D-1

Beliefs about United Nations
(Pilot Data)

The United Nations does a good job in preventing wars:

Grades	Yes	DK	NO
4	62%	25%	13%
6	78	16	11
8	81	10	9

Our country ought to help the United Nations a lot more than we do now.

Grades	Yes	DK	NO
4	44%	30%	25%
6	50	20	29
8	44	18	38

The United Nations should have power over all the countries that are members of it.

Grades	Yes	DK	NO
4	33%	25%	41%
6	32	19	50
8	37	14	49

Data to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation) because the child generalizes childhood social experience.

Although relatively extensive information has been collected from adults concerning their attitudes toward the U. N., with the exception of passing references to other studies cited here (Lawson, 1963) little material has been reported on children.

Research on Pre-Adult Orientations Toward Inter-Group Relations Within the International System - War & Peace

Cooper Study

With the exception of studies of children's attitudes toward war, very little research has been done on the development of pre-adult images of inter-group relations and social processes within international society. Within the past five years three studies done in countries other than the U.S. have made vast strides in this area.

Cooper (1965) utilized Piaget's theoretical framework in an effort to trace the developing orientations of more than 300 English and 113 Japanese children toward war and peace. On an open-ended written questionnaire, children were told to write down whatever came into their minds about the words "war" and "peace." Other questions dealt with the causes of World War II, the justification for war, and the personal circumstances in which the child would go to war. Some tape-recorded interviews were also utilized. The children queried were from age groups 7-8, 10-12 and 14-16, and were all of relatively high intelligence.

In the case of war - Cooper found that in English children coherent responses to questions about war began around age 6 or 7, and that by age 7 or 8 war was clearly defined. Initial responses by the young related to the concrete objects of war such as airplanes, guns and ships (and to a lesser degree soldiers, sailors and countries). Increasingly with age, Cooper stated, these object images were displaced in favor of a recognition of the actions and consequences of war - fighting, killing, dying.

The concept of peace among English children, Cooper found, lagged behind war in its development. Four distinct meanings were discovered by the author: peace as (1) inactivity, freedom from stimuli, tranquility, relaxation; (2) respite and an end to hostile activity - no war; (3) sociable activity, friendship; (4) reconciliation from war, the means of avoiding war and the sustaining of international good will. The prevalence of the first meaning (which Cooper referred to as the "personal" meaning of peace) - inactivity, tranquility, etc. - increased with age until 12 and then declined markedly. Viewing peace as reconciliation tended to increase with age but this orientation was mentioned less than any other.

The image of peace seems dominated by the inactive and personal considerations of Quiet and Silence although there is some understanding of Peace as an international movement. In all events, the idea of

"Peace" to these English children scarcely represents a vigorous drive toward international cooperation but rather corresponds to a state of mind of "inner peace." (1965, p. 5)

Concerning World War II, Cooper asked the English respondents to judge whether Japan and England were right in going to war. The older children, fourteen to sixteen, most often attributed wrongness to Japan and rightness to England suggesting that for these teenagers only a finite amount of morality exists for distribution among the conflicting parties. Younger children were less likely to relate the actions of the two countries.

When English children were asked why England and Japan participated in the War, three categories of reasons were noted: (1) defense of country; (2) friendship and honor; and (3) aggressive attack. Increasingly with age, the children saw Japanese participation as emanating from reasons of national pride, feelings of inferiority, and a desire to expand while England's participation was seen as self defensive. Along with the increasing acceptance of the defense-of-country rationale for England's participation in World War II, by age there was a growing justification for war by nation-states in general. While 70 percent of the 8 year olds queried felt that no justifications for war existed, only 10 percent of the fifteen year olds held this position.

> The 15 year olds are firm in their belief that war is justified to punish an aggressor in order to demonstrate to him his immorality, and as we have seen, the moral judgment presents little difficulty. (1965, p.6).

Cooper suggests that the inculcation of patriotism becomes effective by ages 9 or 10 and that children begin to develop a "patriotic filter" which screens out negative images of the home country and induces the "we"-"they" dichotomy. From a casual perusal of history and geography materials from which the children were taught, Cooper suggests it was evident that the classroom reinforced the patriotic filter.

Table E-1 presents data on the reasons for which the English children would go to war. The older children, it appears, differentiate between situations when allies and trade are in danger (where war could be unjustified) and when country and family are in danger (where war could be likely). The children were asked to rate each of the four categories on a 0-10 scale: 0 (positively would not go to war); 5 (not sure); 10 (definitely would go to war).

Table E-1
Provocability ratings (0=102, 10=high)

	Mean Rating			
age in years	Trade	U.S.A.	Country	Family
7-8 years (n=27)	6.5	8.0	7.0	8.5
10-12 " (n=46)	3.0	6.0	8.0	9.0
14-16 " (n=20)	4.0	3.5	9.5	8.0

Relating necessity of war to age groups, Cooper found the younger children believing that wars need not develop - that there is nothing in human nature driving man to war.

> The eight year old confidently rejected the necessity of War on the grounds of the danger of physical hurt. He places his faith in a Policy of Deterrence. A War of conflict is unlikely provided that each party is well aware of his weakness or strength and whether he will win or lose, hence peaceful co-existence is in the nature of things. The child is clearly referring to his own social order. The order can be disturbed by "bullies," by ignorance of the order, and by a change in the order with age. The child appears to be implicitly familiar with rank-disequilibrium as a source of aggression. (1965, p.6).

The older children, 14-16, made explicit assumptions about human nature - that man is capable of good and evil andthe evil motivations in man's nature make war highly likely.

In terms of expectations of war and expectations as to its effects, many children under twelve predicted a nuclear war within fifteen years while a majority of those over twelve felt that wars would never occur. A steep decline was evidenced in the children's expectations of themselves and their friends living through a nuclear war, although the older children were more convinced of their own survival than that of their friends. This was linked by the author with various developmental stages.

Sex differences were along expected lines. Girls were less likely to focus on weapons, less likely to support England at Japan's expense, less likely to believe war is justified, and more likely to conceive of peace as a protest to war.

Although Cooper found basic developmental similarities between English and Japanese children, some variations were noted. The Japanese children evidenced more concrete concern for objects of war, and maintained these until age 14. The older Japanese children were more aware of current events and international relations than their counterparts, and were more internationally minded and less concerned with fighting, killing and dying, and with the effects of war. These older children also expressed more anti-war postures than the English.

In terms of peace, the Japanese children conceived of it as sociability in the early years; in later years the ideas of respite and reconciliation became more important, (along with peace symbols like the dove). In general then, the Japanese children evidenced more protest toward war, and more international mindedness in conceptions of peace.

Analyzing his data, Cooper develops several descriptive hypotheses for future study. (1) Children learn games and competitive norms of play early in their lives using concepts like cheat, bully, and courage which are then applied to reasoning about war. In this context nuclear and conventional wars are seen in the same light. (2) Wars begin to lose their closeness and become part of history books (about age 9). (3) Hostile patriotism develops out of an awareness of protective defense and the need to punish attack (about age 9). (4) With developing cognitive skills, usually at the teenage level, war is related to conceptions of human psychology based upon hostile instinctual drives. (5) The older children deny the potential for physical hazards to themselves via warfare because they lack experience and imagination as to fighting and killing. (6) Finally, in the imagery and experience of children a linkage exists between personal, social, and international conflict but with an accompaniment of increasing justification for war (which Cooper calls the Schema of Conflict).

The various ways in which Cooper presents his theories and stages are quite consistent with Piaget's general ideas about development. Early stages are egocentric and dependent upon concrete reasoning. Internalization of play is important, and the cognitive propositional skills of the teenager perform a vital role in understanding his more complete conception.

Alvik Study

The major focus of Cooper's article is to develop a model for understanding the child's schema of conflict which is similar to the type of model proposed by Piaget, as well as to present data (leading to hypotheses) about the actual form and content of this understanding with implications for this schema. Following the Cooper article Alvik (1967) reported a study of similar design, using Norwegian children, with some of the same aims but a slightly different emphasis. It should be noted that this is a complex study which cannot be easily summarized. He begins with a review of previous studies (including Escalona, 1963; Geddie and Hildreth 1944; Jersild and Meigs 1943; and Preston, 1942 which are not further considered in "this edition" of this review). He summarizes the conclusions of these studies citing the variables found to be important by investigators at different times and places and using different methods: age - the ages 11-13 being an important dividing line in the course of development; sex; intellectual level; socio-economic background as it determines the milieu to which the child is exposed. He concludes from his review also that children seem to have fewer ideas connected with the notion of peace than with the notion of war; finally, in this review he concludes that Cooper's line of reasoning indicates how one may disentangle the various factors underlying development in order to explain how age and socioeconomic background relate to the development of the concepts of war and peace.

In particular Alvik is interested in the relationship between the child's general ability to relate multiple perspectives in the logical sense (according to Piaget's definition) and his ability to relate multiple perspectives with respect to conflict and conflict prevention. He makes a particularly interesting case for the use of Piaget's concept of "horizontal decalage."

> The concept of horizontal decalage represents the fact that, whereas it may be useful to think of an individual as being generally characterized by a given cognitive structure, he will not necessarily be able to perform within that structure for all tasks. Task contents do differ in the extent to which they resist and inhibit the application of cognitive structures. This is a fact which a stage theory must reckon with, however much it may lend a certain equivocality to statements like 'Individual A is in stage X'. In brief, the existence of horizontal decalage seems to point up a certain heterogeneity where only homogeneity might have been suspected. (Flavell, 1963, p. 23)

Decalage may be of particular importance with respect to concepts of war and peace since as entities they are at present quite remote from the child's general sphere of interest. This results in the fact that growing structures of intelligence have not yet been applied to them. Adults often do not capitalize upon the child's growing intellectual capacity by informing him about what lies at the bottom of conflict conditions on the personal as well as the intergroup level. Decalage is particularly crucial in understanding the peace concept of children. Alvik's interest is more in checking theoretical reasoning such as this than it is in generalizing from his sample to the content of attitudes in any population.

The testing included 8, 10 and 12 year old Norwegians of varied socioeconomic status. Assessment included: an interview similar to Cooper's on peace and war (eliminating questions on nuclear war and adopting an oral rather than written response format); two Piaget tasks to test the child's development of reciprocal reasoning; and questions to assess the level of moral judgment (particularly reciprocity). Children were also asked to draw pictures of war and peace. Fifty-eight children of high socioeconomic status and fifty-six of low socioeconomic status were tested.

With respect to utilization of sources of information about war and peace, T.V. was cited as the most important source. The author found greater utilization of parents by higher status children (as expected) and otherwise no difference. He speculates that information coming from sources other than parents centers around more concrete aspects of war. When ongoing conflict is viewed at all in a reciprocal framework and not from the point of view of one side, this is usually on a high verbal level that requires parents to serve as "decipherers of information."

Alvik reports some differences in types of associations given by his subjects to war (when compared with Cooper's group), although his presentation is a little difficult on this point. He concluded that "while the war concept...can be said to appear rather similar in the two investigations it looks as if the peace concept is more culturally determined." (Alvik, p. 180) In general, over both peace and war concepts, the developmental or age related changes were less pronounced in the Norwegian than in the English data particularly with regard to concrete aspects of war - a finding which may also be influenced by the narrower range of ages tested in Norway.

Ability to perform reciprocal reasoning was correlated somewhat more highly with Concrete Aspects of War and with Passive Conception of Peace than was age with either of these conceptions (though these correlations were in the .25 range). He reported correlations between age and Active Conception of Peace (.56) and Ability at Reciprocal Reasoning and Active Conception of Peace (.41). He uses the decalage concept in discussing children's limited intellectual capacities to comprehend abstract aspects of peace.

Socioeconomic status was related to an understanding of peace and war. The author did some analysis of the interaction of socioeconomic class and reciprocal reasoning, finding that the higher the reciprocal reasoning the greater the difference between subjects of high and low socioeconomic status. High socioeconomic status children did not necessarily have more active peace concepts. Others of his conclusions seem somewhat biased by the alternative nature of the abstract-concrete responses, i.e., a child who gave a concrete response could not simultaneously give an abstract one. Few consistent relationships were noted when moral judgments as a whole were correlated with moral judgments of war. A high degree of equity in moral judgment was related to seeing war as right under certain conditions and there was a relationship between socioeconomic level and age and the rightness of war questions. These data led him to conclude that "Apparently, level of formal operational thinking as well as the wider perspective, possibly encouraged by contact with educated parents, play a role in the moral judgment of war." (Alvik, 1967, p. 186)

He emphasizes the reasoning ability and knowledge from particular sources throughout the article. He also points out that moral judgment of war with respect to whether both parties are right, both wrong, or one right and one wrong (in both possible combinations) looks much like Cooper's data, leading him to conclude that "the moral judgment of war may be related to generally increasing ability of reciprocal reasoning; the parties appear as more symmetrical." (Alvik, 1967, p. 187)

His general conclusion is the following:

> ...rather than applauding undertakings such as children's selling UN emblems or depicting more or less stereotyped portrayals of people from remote cultures or epochs, we should recommend parents and teachers continuously to help the children to analyze any conflict situation in terms of values fought for, and in terms of what can specifically be done to prevent a conflict or to solve undertakings which deliberately train functions, rather than rely upon the power of words alone. To inform children about war as a conflict situation and peace as...a pattern of active cooperation. (Alvik, 1967, p. 189)

Rosell Study

Rosell (1968) studied developmental patterns of children's views of war and peace in a sociological framework. He considered the developmental patterns to be the result of socialization - the learning of social roles.

His sample included 200 Swedish boys and girls aged 8, 11 and 14. The children represented upper, middle and lower classes. The interview instrument used by Rosell was very much like those of Cooper and Alvik, his intention being to compare his results with theirs and add some more general points about socialization.

Rosell used Cooper's open-ended questions to determine the aspects of war and peace that children perceive. "War-processes" and "consequences" were the dimensions most often mentioned by the subjects when they were asked what comes to mind with the word "war." "Processes" correlated negatively with age and "consequences" correlated positively - a finding congruent with Cooper's research. Rosell offers the interpretation that the trends result from the changes in society's expectations as the child grows older. Some relationship was found between these dimensions and sex, girls mentioning more about consequences and less about war-processes than boys.

In the children's definitions of war, perception of consequences was negatively correlated with age, as was war-processes; in this question the recognition of conflict, barely mentioned in the association question, was positively correlated with age. Accepting Piaget's theory of intellectual development and assuming that ability to perceive conflict behind war depends upon the capability of reciprocal reasoning, Rosell suggests that perception of conflict is dependent upon intellectual development rather than upon socialization. (1968 Roselle.)

In regard to perceptions of peace, Rosell found, as did Cooper and Alvik, that children have fewer associations with peace than with war. His subjects did not make much mention of positive aspects of peace - peace as an international process of cooperation - but perceived instead only the absence of war. According to developmental theory it might be expected that as they enter the formal operational stage and become capable of reciprocal reasoning around age 13, children would begin to perceive peace as a process instead of as the absence of activity. Rosell explains the contrary findings - no appreciable mention of positive peace even in the older children - as a phenomenon of decalage where social expectations with regard to peace are too elementary for children at these age levels, resulting in their failure to proceed into formal operations from concrete operations.

The will to defend things like family, friends and country is the result of general socialization occurring earlier than the 8-14 age interval, at a time when children learn to consider certain things as valuable and important. Rosell found this to be true in his sample where his subjects at each age level had consistently high willingness to defend their social groups. (See Table E-2). Sex differences occur, but the boys were not always higher than girls for this trait (as might be expected). The 8 year old boys were more willing than girls to defend especially their country, but this difference decreased by age 14. The fact that girls were found to be more willing to defend their families is in accordance with the thesis that girls are primary-group-oriented. Rosell attributes the difference between the sexes to general types of behavior, like children's games, which are conditioned by sex role. The will to defend may also be dependent on children's level of activity, boys being more active. Another interpretation Rosell offers is that younger children perceive the role of defender as particularistic, belonging to men, while older children perceive it as universalistic, expected of both men and women.

Rosell did not find any relation between the dimensions dealt with and social class. He suggests that this lack of correlation may be due to the particular population sampled, to the examination of behavior socialized by universal social norms rather than of traditional political behavior, or to the possibility that children's political behavior at these ages is actually not highly dependent on their social backgrounds.

With respect to sources of information, the mass media was especially important at all age levels and the family least important. Friends became increasingly important with age.

Table E-2

Willingness to go to war to defend
Family, Friends, and Sweden by age and sex.

	Age					
	8		11		14	
Sex	Boy %	Girl %	Boy %	Girl %	Boy %	Girl %
Family	89	77	93	85	89	86
Friends	89	73	82	64	82	77
Sweden	96	70	85	64	87	74

Rokeach Study

In the context of an ongoing project concerning the value system, Rokeach (of Michigan State University) has provided some unpublished data which are of particular interest. Using a preliminary form of Rokeach's Value Survey, Bivins and Rokeach gathered rankings of 12 values from approximately 65 students at each of four grade levels - 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th. Each individual had to rank the values: A Comfortable Life, A World of Peace, A World of Beauty, Equality, Freedom, Friendship, National Defense, Personal Security, Respect from Others, Salvation, Self-Fulfillment, and Wisdom, given the following instructions - "arrange them in order of importance to YOU as guiding principles in YOUR life." Table E-3 presents the median rank order of the values of children in each grade.

Table E-3

Median Rank Order of Rokeach Values

	Grade 5 N=69 Median Rank	Grade 7 N=75 Med. Rk.	Grade 9 N=59 Med. Rk.	Grade 11 N=67 Med. Rk.
A World at Peace	2.06	2.14	2.56	4.40
National Defense	7.11	7.38	7.65	10.53

The highest median rank for grades 5, 7, 9 children was attained by the value A World at Peace (no median rank was closer to the top of the list than 2.06, 2.14, etc.). For grade 11 children Freedom received the highest median rank with A World at Peace second. The median rank of National Defense places it as the 8th most important, the 6th most important, the 9th most important, and the least important of the twelve values at the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 11th grades respectively.

Corroborating data has been provided for a group of 1095 9th grade students by Martin Miller (also at Michigan State) using a later form of the Rokeach Value Survey with similar instructions. In this form there are 18 values. Once again World at Peace is by far the most important value with a mean rank of 4.48 (out of 18). Forty percent of the students ranked this as either the most important or the second most important value. The mean rank for Natiónal Security (Protection from Attack) was 10.09 with only about 2% of the students classifying it as the most important or second most important value and approximately 12% classifying it as the least important or next-to least important value (out of 18).

Data from Rokeach (unpublished) collected from adults suggests that this placement of values in children corresponds closely with the ranking in adults. This suggests that in dealing with ultimate (or what Rokeach calls terminal) values the avoidance of conflict, particularly in the world as a whole, is by grade 5 (and continuing into adulthood) one of the most important values held -- clearly more important than national defense.

Allerhand Study

Allerhand (1965) reports on recent investigations into children's reactions to societal situations which have the potential for crisis. That children are aware of societal crises, the cold war in particular, is evident in the results of investigations carried out by Escalona (1963) which indicate that a good majority of adolescents mention the issue of war and peace when they consider the world of the future. Parents reported on a questionnaire administered by Allerhand and COPE (Committee on Psychological Effects of Nuclear Age) that their elementary school age children do make reference to nuclear war subjects such as shelters.

Having established that children are, in fact, aware of the nuclear threat, Allerhand considers their methods of dealing with this awareness. The COPE study revealed that children reacted to the threat by seeking facts. Also, the children displayed more concern for their own self-protection than they did for the needs of others. Other researchers have reported conflicting attitudes concerning the possibility of future war. Because Allerhand contends that there will probably be a war in the future, he interprets the large number of negative responses as an indication of the denial of the reality of the nuclear threat.

According to developmental theory, the resolution of survival needs is associated with the recognition of more personally distant social experiences. Escalona supported this by reporting that upper-, middle- and lower-class children mention progressively less frequently the possibility of future war. Allerhand, however, points out that the majority of people have not sufficiently resolved their survival needs, and thus the majority of people do not perceive reality in an intelligent and flexible manner.

Allerhand proposes the following genralizations drawn from children's reactions to the cold war situation: feeling anxiety, children look for support and controls but find their parents inadequate because they, too, are experiencing the great rapidity of social and technological change. The confrontation with this emotional void pushes the children into a state of greater anxiety with lowered adaptive behavior and effectiveness in coping with external circumstances. Some children, particularly those who are younger, academically unsuccessful or socioeconomically starved, reveal a lowered awareness to factors beyond their daily living situation. Unable to turn to adults for stabilization, the children turn to anything available, usually an impersonal source such as television.

Targ Study

Targ (1967) also examined children's orientations to war. He found that children increasingly with age and grade level saw war as legal. Twenty percent of the fourth graders sampled said war was legal; 41 percent of the fifth graders said it was legal; and 55 percent of the sixth graders agreed. Coupled with the increasing belief that war was legal was a constant evaluation of war as bad (92%, 89%, 92%) and war as cruel (94%, 90%, 87%) across grades.

Targ hypothesized that the coupling of negative effect with increasing belief as to its legality represents an inculcation into children of the cold war dialogue and the "realistic" political theories represented by international relations scholars such as Hans Morgenthau (1960). The concepts of the Just War, the balance of power, and the aggressiveness of man appear to be part of the western cultural baggage, as evidenced by both Cooper and Targ.

It has been hypothesized by Greenstein (1965) and others that children increasingly become cynical and pessimistic in their predictive imagery as they get older. Increasing inculcation of the cold war dialogue, the political realism school of international relations embedded in American culture, and adult cynicism, serve to shape the developing perspective of the child.

Targ asked his fourth, fifth, and sixth grade participants if they felt a war would come that would destroy the whole world. Twenty percent of the fourth graders answered affirmatively, as did 25 percent of the 5th graders and 38 percent of the sixth graders (a slight reversal of Cooper's trend). When asked if the cold war would continue, 17 percent of the fourth graders, 31 percent of the fifth graders, and 33 percent of the sixth graders agreed. About one-half of each class felt that the major participants in the cold war - Russia, China, and the United States - would not agree to disarm in the future.

Summary

Attitudes toward war have interested several highly competent investigators. Children's orientations toward processes like war seem to have more coherent links with other types of cognitive ability than appears to be the case with other international attitudes. This (along with the interesting variety of measurements used) suggests several very fruitful lines of inquiry for the future (including replications in countries like the U. S. of the Cooper-Alvik-Rosell material).

Agents of International Socialization - Parents and Generational Change

The problem of separating the effects of school, family, mass media and peer association, even in the more narrowly conceived range of national political socialization, is an issue of considerable interest to many and an area of disagreement.

Helfant Study

Helfant (1952) investigated the source and determination of adolescents' socio-political attitudes, beginning with the assumption that these attitudes are the result of a complex interweaving of personality and social factors, social factors being more important. He sought to make a comparison of two relationships: "(a) the relationship between a particular social factor (parents' socio-political attitudes) and adolescents' socio-political attitudes; and (b) the relationship between a particular personality factor (adolescents' personal feelings of outwardly-directed hostility) and adolescents' socio-political attitudes." (Helfant, 1952, p. 1) The following hypotheses were presented:

"1. Adolescents' attitudes toward Russia, international relations, and war are significantly related to:

a. The attitudes of the adolescents' parents on the same topics.
b. The adolescents' personal feelings of outwardly-directed hostility.

2. Adolescents' attitudes toward Russia, international relations, and war are more closely related to the attitudes of the adolescents' parents on the same topics than to the adolescents' personal feelings of outwardly-directed hostility."

A group of 166 New Jersey high school seniors served as subjects. A battery of attitude scales and personality and intelligence tests was given to the students; their parents were given the same attitude scales and were interviewed. Correlations among the resulting factors were then calculated.

To measure opinions and beliefs about Russia and about international relations, Helfant constructed, according to the Likert technique, two sixteen-statement surveys. The students and their parents responded to each item on the two scales by indicating their opinions on a five-point agree-disagree continuum. The Russia scale included items such as "I believe that Russia is a dictatorship worse than Hitler" and "I feel friendly toward Russia." The items concerned tendencies to criticize or reject foreign people and a feeling that we should take a more militant stand in international relations. Representative of the international relations items are: "I believe that the U. S. should send forces and materials to any country that needs them", and "It is my belief that other nations are often plotting against us." These scales were constructed by an item analysis of internal consistency and by asking students to rate their attitudes toward Russia and toward international relations on linear scales. Correlations between self-ratings and attitude scale scores were .78 and .70 respectively.

Attitudes toward war were measured in the same way by 16 items chosen from Likert's eighteen item version of the Droba-Thurstone attitude-toward-war scale. Choices included: "The benefits of war outweigh its attendant evils;" "It is our duty to serve in a defensive war;" and "It is the moral duty of the individual to refuse to participate in any way in any war, no matter what the cause."

The students' personal feelings of outwardly-directed hostility were measured by two instruments. A Like-Dislike Scale was adapted from the thirty-four "aggression" items of the Interests and Activities Questionnaire used by the Progressive Education Association. On a five-point like-dislike continuum students indicated their responses to such items as: "Throwing spit balls," "Watching a good fight," and "Looking at pictures of death and destruction." The extrapunitive scores of the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Study served as Helfant's second measure of hostility. For twenty-four cartoons depicting people in mildly frustrating situations, the subjects filled in the "balloon" above the frustrated person. A typical situation is: "A woman is apologizing to her partner in a card game for having made a stupid play."

Student intelligence was measured by a twenty-word vocabulary test adapted by R. L. Thorndike from the I.E.R. Intelligence Scale.

Helfant constructed a parent-interview form to obtain further qualitative and quantitative information about the students including social class, foreign experience, and amounts of home discussion of international relations.

The inter-correlations, means, and standard deviations of the scores on each of the tests and scales administered to the students and their parents are recorded in Table F-1. Outwardly-directed hostility was related at a low but significant level to international relations attitudes and to war attitudes. Correlations between mother's and father's attitudes were in all cases as high or higher than those between parents and children. Some individual item correlational analysis was done but results were ambiguous. Correlations between parent and child attitudes toward war as an ideological issue were positive; correlations using items concerning personal participation in war were negative. None of the differences between means of parents and children were significant. There were some differences in variances, with parents showing less dispersion of attitudes than their children.

In homes where parents and children discussed international relations, the correlations between the students' and parents' attitudes were generally greater than in homes where they did not; but all of these correlations were small, lacking statistical significance. The amount of parental contact with other countries was significantly correlated only with students' vocabulary-test scores (r=.19) and home-conversation scores (r=.22). There were no significant relationships between the kind of attitudes held and the amount of home conversation about international relations or the amount of parental contact with other countries.

Frequency of the students' church attendance was found to be reliably associated with less liberal attitudes toward international relations (r=-.22), and the economic positions of parents were correlated with student vocabulary scores (r=.21). The students' intelligence, as measured by their vocabulary scores, was found to be significantly correlated with their attitudes toward international relations (r=.21), attitudes toward war (r=.20), and index of parental economic position (r=.28).

In discussing the influence of parents' attitudes on their children's socio-political attitudes, Helfant draws several conclusions. First, in general the students tend to hold more extreme attitudes than did their parents. An adolescent whose mother has a mildly friendly attitude toward Russia is himself likely to be very favorable. Also, based on an analysis of "ideological" as compared with "personal-participation" items of the attitude-toward-war scale, he concludes that parents and their children tend to have similar ideological attitudes toward war but dissimilar attitudes toward personal participation in war, though he suggests no reasons why this might be so.

Helfant offers two explanations for the fact that most of the correlations between parents' and children's attitudes and husbands' and wives' attitudes reported in his study are lower than those in other studies. It is possible that the samples studied differ, Helfant employing as

Table F-1

Intercorrelations, Mean Scores, and Standard Deviations
of the Major Variables

(Reprinted from p. 8 of Helfant)

	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Student approval of Russia	...	.28*	.18*	.30	.04	.13	-.26*	-.20*	-.06	-.05	-.02
2.	Mothers' approval of Russia	...	...	.37*	.23*	.17*	.18*	-.13	-.10	.04	.02	.01
3.	Fathers' approval of Russia	...	...	...	.22*	.16*	.25*	-.13*	-.13*	-.16*	.05	.02
4.	Student attitude of friendliness in Int'l Rel's	...	...	...	...	.11	.27*	-.29*	-.16*	-.04	-.18*	-.25*
5.	Mothers' attitude of friendliness in In'l Rel's	...	...	...	...	...	.32*	-.03	-.05	.01	.04	-.10
6.	Fathers' attitide of friendliness in Int'l Rel's	...	...	...	...	...	...	-.13	-.11	-.05	.03	-.06
7.	Student approval of war	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.16*	.05	.16*	.12
8.	Mothers' approval of war	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.16*	-.02	-.01
9.	Fathers' approval of war	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	-.06	.01
10.	Student hostility (Like-Dislike)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.39*
11.	Student hostility (Rosenzweig)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Mean scores	36.5	37.5	35.6	58.4	56.5	56.8	47.2	48.3	49.4	88.2	53.5
	Standard deviations	10.0	7.8	9.2	8.1	6.6	8.4	8.2	5.1	5.2	17.6	15.4

* Correlations which are significant at the .05 level of confidence (which has been adopted as the level of statistical significance for this study) are marked with an asterisk.

subjects students within a narrow age range; or that Helfant's subjects may have been at a stage in development where it is common to revolt against and reject parental attitudes. The other explanation can account also for the differences between husbands' and wives' scores: since previous studies have depended upon willing child subjects to obtain their parents' attitudes the results may have been biased by the cooperation displayed by the participating subjects and the greater likelihood of close identification within the family.

The students' personal feelings of outwardly-directed hostility affected some of their socio-political attitudes but not others. Helfant suggests, in explanation, the following hypothesis based on an analysis of subscores on groups of items from attitude scales: "When social pressures with regard to an attitude are strong, the effect of personality factors is overruled; and, conversely, when social pressures with regard to an attitude are not strong, the attitude held is more likely to be consistent with the person's characteristic ways of reacting." (Helfant, 1952, p. 17)

It is interesting to note that these correlations are low and in the same general range as the family correlations reported by Hess and Torney. This suggests that factors, agents and models other than parental identification must be sought in order to understand this type of attitude development.

This is a suggestive study but one which suffers somewhat from inferences without clear basis in results. The scales may be very valuable.

Queener Study

Queener (1949) reported a study of 50 upper-middle class New England men using their retrospective accounts of their early years to suggest sources of their international attitudes. He also used two criteria to classify his subjects - an attitude criteria (scores assessing the acceptability of war) and an action criteria (membership in an international peace organization or writing letters to Washington advocating international peace). Queener developed what he called a "cue theory": a respondent's attitude varies directly with attitudes held by prestige persons and groups in their personal histories, and inversely with attitudes of non-prestige persons and groups. A number of his observations are relevant. He found that attitudes strongly adverse to the taking of life seem to transfer to the international area only if they are intense. Ordinary humaneness (indicated by a cue such as being kind to others) did not seem to conflict with highly sanctioned violence in the name of national policy. It was difficult to distinguish between active internationalists and those who held attitudes without action. Active internationalists tended not only to have imitated prestige persons who were active, but also to have had their initial actions rewarded. Some of the inactives were so sophisticated on international matters that they despaired of their action accomplishing anything.

The lack of deliberate teaching on the part of those prestige persons whose attitudes were imitated was pointed out. An idea or an institution might have been accepted or rejected in a passing remark or a significant gesture at the table or around the stove. Queener postulated two reasons for an individual selecting one set of cues and not another: (1) perceptions that the cue is an important response for the model; (2) the cue's proximity in time and space. The agents that Queener felt were most influential in combining cues and prestige were religious institutions, teachers (as persons, more than through pedagogical techniques), and family. He concluded the following about parent-child influence:

> Fathers cue sons more on international matters than do mothers, although women definitely appear to transmit greater anxiety against war and greater chauvinism favoring it (Queener, 1949, p. 251).

The Helfant article suggests in a more direct way that at least in adolescence cues have not been very accurately absorbed, if one uses direct similarity between children and parents as the criterion. It must be remembered, however, that studies of perceived attitudes (where the younger person reports both his own attitude and his parents' attitudes) in some cases exaggerate the amount of similarity. Neither can studies of intra-family similarities in attitudes ignore the problem of generational change.

Studies of Generational Change

The socialization of young humans takes place in a unique set of historical circumstances. In periods of rapid socio-cultural change there is likely to be considerable discontinuity in the historical context of each generation's socialization, often thought to produce generational differences in social perceptions, values, attitudes and beliefs.[3] Previous research in international orientations indicates the existence of several significant kinds of generational differences.

Inglehart (1967), in a study of European attitudes toward European integration, compared the attitudes of different age groups. He hypothesized that "important changes in political socialization may have been taking place in recent years, as a result of the post-war European movement, the increases in trade, exchange of persons, and the erection of European institutions." (Inglehart, p. 91)

Inglehart rejects the possibliity of a "life cycle" explanation of these differences, which would argue that pro-Europeanness is a manifestation of youthful rebellion and will disappear or decay with age. He argues that the age group differences can be linked to generational differences in the conditions of early socialization including:

a. Absence of a major intra-European War from the younger individuals' experience,
b. A marked increase in intra-European transactions, with a possible reduction in the psychological distance between

the groups concerned.

c. Development of European institutions which perform important functions and are regarded as beneficial. (Inglehart, p.97)

The simple presence of age-related differences does not, of course, prove that these reflect generational changes. Age differences can logically imply developmental changes as well as generational differences. For example, if younger people are more liberal than older people this could reflect either inter-generational differences or life cycle effects. Perhaps individuals simply become more conservative with age. Cohort analysis which was initially developed by demographers has been successfully applied in the study of international orientations in order to determine the relative influence of life cycle and generational factors in the explanation of age-related differences in attitudes.[9] Cutler (1968) applied cohort analysis in a study of American adults' foreign policy attitudes which evidence age-related differences. His findings indicate:

> Neither the aging process (life-stage) nor the generational succession (cohort) interpretations of the age variable explain all of the observed differences; rather, each interpretation accounts for some of the variance. The generational cohorts, however, provide a relatively stronger explanation than do the life-stage groups. Controls for sex and education do not alter the relative power of the life-stage and cohort explanations.
>
> Specifically, for example, there is a trend toward the increasing salience of foreign policy matters for the American public; that is, the more recent the generational cohort, the higher the level of foreign policy salience. There is a historically decreasing trend in negative images and perceptions of the Soviet Union, but a corresponding increase in the level of more generalized negative expectations emanating from the environment of foreign policy and international realtions, including, for example, an increase in the expectation of war.
>
> Specific policy evaluations and preferences also yield a number of identifiable trends associated with generational cohorts. Historically older cohorts tend to support isolationist and unilateral-aggressive foreign policies; the policy which they endorse the most is advocacy of war. The more recent the generational cohort however, the greater the endorsement of a variety of foreign policy programs; for example, those individuals who were about twenty years of age in 1945 are quite internationalist in their orientations and support policies of foreign aid, maintenance of American military preparedness, and collective security agreements.

While previous studies clearly suggest the existence of generational changes in international orientations, the paucity of research means that we know very little about this phenomena. What orientations are more likely to be subject to generational change? Why? How does generational change occur? When in the life cycle do generational changes begin to emerge? These are examples of the wide range of questions about which we know very little. Clearly studies of generational change and stability in international orientations constitute an important research need. This need is likely to become more acute in the years ahead since it is reasonable to assume that generational change will become an even more significant feature of most societies in the modern world. Needless to say, studies of the generational phenomena in developing nations are particularly salient; in developed societies also, social change, both within the society and within the international environment, is sufficiently rapid and extensive to suggest significant discontinuities in the historical circumstances under which different generations become socialized. Moreover, what is currently known about the structure of the pre-adult socialization process clearly suggests that there is ample room for agents of change to work their effects upon new generations. Jennings and Niemi (1968) in a recent study of the transmission of political ideas from parent to child conclude that:

> There is considerable slack in the value-acquisition process. If the eighteen-year old is no simple carbon copy of his parents - as the results clearly indicate - then it seems most likely that other socializing agents have ample opportunity to exert their impact. This happens, we believe, both during and after childhood. These opportunities are enhanced by the rapid socio-technical changes occurring in modern societies. Not the least of these are the transformations in the content and form of the mass media and communication channels, phenomena over which the family and the school have relatively little control. It is perhaps the intrusion of other and different stimuli lying outside the nexus of the family and school which has led to the seemingly different Weltanschauung of the post-World-War-II generation compared with its immediate predecessor.
>
> The place of change factors or agents thus becomes crucial in understanding the dynamics at work within the political system. Such factors may be largely exogenous and unplanned in nature, as in the case of civil disturbances and unanticipated consequences of technical innovations. Or they may be much more premeditated, as with radical changes in school organization and curriculum and in enforced social and racial interaction. Or, finally, they may be exceedingly diffuse factors which result in numerous individual student-parent differences with no shift in the overall outlook of the two generations. Our point is that the absence of impressive parent-to-child transmission of political values heightens the likelihood that change factors can work their will on the rising generation. (p. 184)

At least two kinds of generational change studies seem to be called for. First are studies of age-related differences in adult orientations employing cohort analysis in the manner exemplified by the Cutler (1968) research on American foreign policy attitudes. Second, we need studies of children and young people at different ages that are deliberately designed to be replicated at periodic intervals (for example, every five or six years). This would not only provide trend information about pre-adult orientations but would also, after a period of time, provide a means of developing and testing hypotheses about the effects of changes in the social organization and curriculum of the school and of the international events that give rise to generational change in international orientations. This is similar to the method called pseudo-logitudinal analysis.

Hess and Torney (1967) concluded that the family's influence as a source of information about national political attitudes had been overestimated, inferring this from the lack of correlation between attitudes of siblings (with the exception of political party and election candidate attitudes) and from the similarity between the reports of curriculum stresses and the developmental changes in attitude. When children were asked to rate several figures on how much each taught them about being a good citizen, teachers were rated first with parents and clergymen a close second. Books and periodicals fell somewhat farther down the scale, followed by TV and friends. A study of actual student-teacher similarity in attitudes is in process (Torney and Hess, in preparation). One of the crucial needs in both national and international studies is the determination of the relative influence of all possible socialization agents and the consequences of different models of the socializing process.

In the Lambert and Klineberg study, children were also asked for the source of information about other countries. The younger children, the six- and ten-year olds, most frequently cited television, movies and parents, while older children of fourteen referred more frequently to school and books. The sources of information about the Russians differed somewhat from the sources reported for other countries - school was viewed as a less crucial source of information about Russia, while magazines were reported more frequently. Other material on sources of attitudes is reported in the section of this chapter on attitudes toward war and peace.

With regard particularly to nationalistic attitudes, Tajfel (1967) quotes Fishman:

> The transition from ethnic group to nationalism is based on elaboration in which the daily rounds of life that constitute traditional ethnicity (speaking, dressing, harvesting, cooking) come to be seen not as...localized and particularized "innocent" acts, but rather as experiences of common history, values and missions. (Tajfel, 1967, p. 62)

Children are at a particularly appropriate stage to transform innocent acts into acts which express history, values and mission.

Lambert and Klineberg likewise point to agents who use assumed consensus to encourage stereotypes in children:

> An otherwise purely personal or local and usually unexpressed view of a particular foreign group may become a full grown stereotype if, through information coming from parents, school, or the mass media, children tend to believe that "everyone," "everywhere," knows that "they are like that." (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967, p. 143.)

Summary

The major evidence suggests that direct transmission of attitudes from parent to child may not be the most appropriate model for understanding international socialization. Much of socialization may go on outside the home and be influenced by subtle processes, historical circumstances, and children's cognitive capacities. The following section deals with a number of these outside influences.

Curriculum Research on International Orientations and Its Implications

Research on international socialization is an important area for scholars seeking to understand the functioning of the international social system. Since research can also have significant implications for the content, organization, and sequencing of the school curriculum, one kind of needed inquiry is an effort to indicate the implications of research findings for world affairs education within the schools. John Patrick's study (1968), Political Socialization of American Youth: Review of Research with Implications for Secondary Social Studies, published by the National Council for the Social Studies, is an excellent example in the national socialization area of the needed work to link basic research to curriculum reform and development. As the number and variety of studies of international socialization expand, there will also be a need for periodic review and stock-taking focusing on educational implications of the new research findings. The content, format, style, and sponsorship of these "reviews of international socialization research" should be such as to maximize their use within the educational community.

What are the implications of existing socialization research for world affairs education? In the first place, existing research suggests the importance of seeking ways to substantially expand the international dimension of elementary curriculum. The work of Hess, Torney, Easton, Dennis and Greenstein all document the thesis that the elementary years are critical in the formation of many basic social values, attitudes and cognitions. Hess and Torney observe that:

> The results of these testing sessions failed to support the hypothesis that significant major development and change occurs during the high school years. On the contrary, the findings revealed that an unexpected degree of political learning and experience had occurred at the pre-high school level. (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 9.)

Moreover, within these years, it would seem that the school is a primary agent of political socialization. Hess and Torney have hypothesized that the elementary school,

> ...apparently plays the largest part in teaching attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system. (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 217.)

The research on which these conclusions are based focuses for the most part on the development of orientations to the domestic political system, but there is little reason to assume that the picture is radically different in the case of international orientations. If many basic international orientations are formed during childhood and if the elementary schools are actually or potentially a very potent agent in this process, then there is little question about the importance of the international component of elementary school curriculum. In short, what is done (or not done) by elementary schools would seem to be of considerably more consequence than what is done by high schools, colleges and universities.

If existing research suggests by inference that elementary schools may be a critical agent in the development of many basic international orientations, existing research also suggests the feasibility of enlarging the world affairs dimension of elementary curriculum through substantial modification of the expanding environment or concentric circle model of curriculum organization.

First, there is a slowly growing accumulation of empirical findings which indicate that the child does not expand his cognitive awareness or affective interests in some kind of simple geographical progression from the near to the far or the small to the large or the part to the whole. Existing political socialization research, as John Patrick states: "...indicates that young children become aware of first the national government, then local government, then state government." (Patrick, p. 70.) There is also some evidence indicating that children's awareness of their national and international environment has a good deal more cognitive content than many presume. For example, Roberta Sigel (1968) studied Detroit children's reactions to the Kennedy assassination and found that children even as young as fourth graders were generally aware of the politics of the Kennedy era.

> Children's concern for peace and sensitivity to the tensions of the international scene were marked. There is no doubt that even young children were aware that they were living in troubled times full of international conflicts and dangers of war. (Siegal, 1968, p. 218.)

She concluded that:

> Detroit school children were by no means ignorant of their political environment; they seem to have known the essentially important issues of their time and what transpired during the President's term of office. To be sure, this image lacked

> depth and detail as well as sophistication, but the same can well be said of most adults. They too respond only to the most dramatic in politics and then only in highly general terms....This being the case, the gap which separates children from adults in political sophistication may well be smaller than generally believed (p. 226).

Spodek Study

There is also research relating to the "geography" of children's awareness. Wann (1962) provides an interesting insight into the limitations of the concentric circle model of awareness. Spodek (1962), who worked with the Wann project, reports a very interesting attempt to teach general social studies concepts to kindergarten children. He reports that recent knowledge of the learning process indicates advantages to using basic concepts as the foundation of curriculum. Spodek observes that there is sometimes little relationship between the social studies concepts that lower elementary children are expected to develop and those expected of children in the upper grades.

Spodek's research was based on the assumption that kindergarten children, when given the opportunity, can begin to develop concepts that are significant in the fields of the social sciences. He identified concepts in the fields of history and geography and used these as the basis for his learning program about "New York as a Harbor." This program was incorporated for two and one half months into a New York kindergarten curriculum. Observation records and pre-test and post-test interviews provided the research data. The test interview revealed at the close of the program a mean increase in score of 10.4 points (on a 49 point scale), significant at the 1 percent level. The major effect of the program was the realization by the children of new relationships among objects.

The traditional approach to social sciences has been the concentric circles model -- dealing first with social phenomena like home and school which are close to children and then moving farther and farther out into the world; Spodek believes that the content of the social sciences should be ordered in relation to the abstractness of the phenomena to be studied rather than to the relationship of the phenomena to the child's physical existence.

Spodek discovered that kindergarten children bring a background of social knowledge to school. This already existing knowledge must be built upon and extended, or modified and corrected. The main source of information prior to the classroom was television which informed the children especially about remote places and events. Misconceptions could most often be attributed to the children's oversimplification and stereotyping or to their inadequate vocabularies and consequent confusion by language. Spodek suggests two hypotheses to explain the retention of misconceptions even in the face of contradictory evidence. First, in line with Piaget, he reasons that an equilibrium was achieved with the initial false idea, and the child was too young to assimilate the new information. The second explanation supposes that primary experience has strong impact, and that it is difficult to modify, unlearn or replace initial concepts with later ones.

While recent research does not disprove the Piaget-derived hypothesis that "...a child's intellectual grasp of his environment begins in his immediate vicinity and only gradually extends outward" (Jahoda, 1963, p. 48), it does suggest several needed kinds of inquiry relating to the "geography" of awareness. As suggested elsewhere in this chapter, there is a need to replicate the Piaget research in the contemporary American cultural setting. Even though there are developmental sequences in the expansion of awareness, these are likely to be influenced by cultural factors. Specifically, there is some reason to believe that substantial kinds of differences may exist between a "TV culture" and a "non-TV culture." There is also a need for careful conceptual analysis of the whole problem of the expansion of awareness. For example, it may be useful to try to rethink the problem in terms of the concepts of "units" and "levels" as discussed in some of the recent literature in the philosophy of the social sciences.

In many cases, children absorb and process information according to rules which are not understood by adults (as adults' impatience with many of children's questions indicates.) Certain things catch children's interest and they search out more information. President Kennedy seemed to be an object of great interest, and children retained fragmentary but to them fascinating pieces of information about him.

Miale Study

A study presented in pamphlet form entitled "The Short-Changed Children of Suburbia: What Schools Don't Teach About Human Differences" documents the limitations of certain schools in their handling of aspects of human differences. In this four-year study of a New York suburb, teachers and children were surveyed concerning classroom experiences related to the child's learning about human differences and his attitudes toward them.

The conclusions of these authors are dismal with regard to the child's learning in this area. They suggest that children in suburbs such as this learn to be hypocritical about human differences and about human conflict. Children hold prejudices but most teachers deal with them by teaching children that it is "not nice" to use slurring words to refer to other national groups. National and racial stereotypes appeared at a very early age, in the first and second grade, and were expressed in various projective techniques and in various interviews in which children simply made assumptions that Negroes were inferior, or that people from Mexico ate food which was unhealthy, or that children who did not have economic advantages did not exist in the United States. One of the clearest examples of the teachers' failure to use experience as it presented itself in the classroom was the fact that even when this school had a temporary bussing program for Negro children, the teachers avoided the racial issue, and simply hoped that when the children left the whole problem of Negro-white relations would not be brought up again.

Indicating their attitudes toward persons of lesser economic means, the children said that children in a picture who were badly dressed, dirty, and thin could not possibly be American. One child said, "you can tell by looking at them - no white children in our country would look like these." Parents, when they expressed attitudes about their children's economic beliefs, merely wished that their children would recognize that poverty existed so as to be more appreciative of the advantages which they had. Teachers simply seemed to ignore the study of things directly related to economic values. For example, no study was proposed of the social structure or class economic system of the suburb itself. Teachers used as an excuse the fact that the subject of economic equality was not covered in text books and that they had no prepared materials to draw upon. However, since the teachers were in many cases of lower socioeconomic status than their pupils, their own insecurity may also have had an effect. The authors led classroom discussions focuses upon the type of information the students would need in order to make judgments about economic problems. For example, they attempted to guide the children in making propositional statements.

The authors found that the teachers were more likely to utilize and plan for discussions of religious differences, and there seemed to be somewhat less tendency to avoid this material. In dealing with the diversity that results from different nationalities, the teachers tended to follow the book and concentrate primarily upon the sorts of facts contained in social studies curriculum about population, products and major cities. Teachers did, however, seem to make some attempts to stress to children why the ethnic (if not the racial) diversity of our country was a source of its strength.

The impression one gains from this material is that these children view themselves in their neat, clean and orderly life as leading one type of life that should be expected of the rest of the world; their concepts of people who are different is shaped not only by the evident racial or religious or economic differences of these people but also by the deviation of these people from the way of life in the suburbs which is regarded as the only proper way of life.

In answer to the argument that children have many opportunities to learn about human differences outside of the classrooms, the authors point out that the parents put primary stress upon academic matters and in most cases preferred that their children did not associate with persons outside of those in their neighborhood. They also indicate that 70 percent of all respondents rated family and school (in one sequence or the other) as the two institutions that chiefly molded the child's social attitude. The justification which teachers used for not handling material about human differences was often: "When differences are not mentioned, the children are less likely to develop bias." The attempts which the teachers did make to show that people all over the world were alike were often pursued in what the authors consider an oversimplified way. (For example, suggesting that music is a universal language.) This led, they felt, more to a denial of differences than it did to any feeling of solidarity with the human race.

These authors went a step farther than many others in suggesting an appropriate action program for the schools to inculcate in children a greater appreciation of human differences and what might be called a sense of history in dealing with their own place in the world. They suggested that the school should first work on developing higher thought processes to teach children to analyze issues rather than to simply acquire information. Children should become able to differentiate the symptoms from the causes of a situation. In class, students should discuss differences and controversies as they exist in the structure of their own community rather than simply learn facts about distant parts of the world. This should not be construed to mean "the-policeman-is-our-friend" type curriculum, but rather a program dealing with economic inequality or racial prejudice as it exists in the child's community. Some appreciation of diversity in sets of values is also important, though the authors point out that this is a particularly sore spot with middle class parents. Finally, they suggest the development of an empathic understanding of other countries, other social statuses, other racial groups. Most of all, they suggest that these differences should not be glossed over, nor should children be made to feel that differences are bad or unmentionable. Particularly in appreciation of the worldwide society of mankind, they suggest stressing both commonalities, for example, in holidays, costumes and rituals, and differences. They suggest a balance in studying the world, looking at Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as at Europe and North America; likewise it should be pointed out that class and nationality differences are not limited to whites or to the United States. They also stress the possibilities of various aspects of language learning as it can be relevant to teáching children to live in a multi-national society.

This study used teacher's information about their handling of various situations and discussions with children both in classroom groups and individually. It is a crucial study for two reasons. First, it points to the fact that curriculum change must include ways of dealing with various problems which teachers face in presenting the curriculum and using spontaneous incidents. It also points to what the authors call the abysmal nature of childrens' knowledge of human difference as it hampers movement toward international understanding.

A very brief study recommends a similar program of culture contact in a slightly different context.

Allen Study

Allen (1963) reported in a descriptive way the reactions of eleven-year-old children from many countries to experience in Children's International Summer Villages. Her conclusions were tentative, but suggested that in many cases preference for acquaintance with children of the same sex surmounts preference for children of the same nationality; children who have had this experience evidence fewer "barriers of thinking" than children who have not. She clearly believes that these small groups of children exposed to international contacts can form the nucleus of a group which can change even adult attitudes in the direction of world community.

There is currently considerable interest in assessing the actual impact of various kinds of nationally and internationally oriented curriculum on young children's attitudes and information.

Farnen and Wills Study

Farnen and Wills (1969) compared the percentages of correct items concerning domestic social studies issues and items concerning international social studies issues (both Western and non-Western) using nationwide groups of high school seniors, college sophomores and college seniors. For the college group only, they found that items concerning international matters had higher difficulty levels than did items with only national relevance. They also found that the difficulty level of international items decreased somewhat during the years 1961 to 1965, suggesting, but not proving, the impact of current emphasis on international studies in the curriculum.

IEA Study

There is currently in progress a large scale study of the effects of education in eight countries (Chile, England, Finland, Germany, Iran, Italy, Sweden, and the United States) under the auspices of IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Attainment). This study included some items with a particularly international perspective, though the majority of the items (which will be given to populations of ten-, fourteen-year-olds and pre-university students) concern the student's own political system or his support of very broad democratic values. Although data from students is not yet available, national centers of educational research in each country have reported goals, curricular statements, tests, text and other content topics in the area of civic education. Several classification systems have been used. A major division has been made between cognitive and attitudinal aspects of civics education, the cognitive tests being constructed in a framework of correct and incorrect answers, while the attitudinal material is much more similar to previous attitudinal studies of political socialization. At a later stage the data from these two separate sets of measures will be analyzed together.

On the cognitive side, an international master grid summarizing the major content and abilities of civics education with weights or emphases was constructed from the national center reports on curriculum. A weighting of 14 percent across all nations was assigned to the area "international relations and organization, cross-cultural, nonwestern, comparative politics and governments (e.g., unitary and federal systems, parliamentary and presidential system, etc.)" (IEA, unpublished, 1969.) The cognitive pretests being prepared for administration reflect this weighting in the number of questions in this area.

On the attitudinal side, an analysis of national center check list responses indicate that "appreciation of the interdependence of people and of personal responsibility for international amity" was checked as important by all countries and fairly equally at all age levels.

"Appreciation of national traditions and the national heritage" was checked with a considerably more variable pattern, being stated as an emphasis at one or more levels in three countries, including the U. S., and receiving attention only at one age level in three other countries (IEA, unpublished, 1969).

This study, when completed, will provide valuable information about the role of the schools in the acquisition of national and international beliefs, values and attitudes as it varies in different countries. Clearly, there is some variance here, at least in the area of goals and presumably in the area of actual student attitudes as well.

Recent research suggests that the development of national loyalty within young people may not be as dependent upon social studies instruction as we have generally assumed. First, it indicates,

> Most American children acquire strong positive, supportive attitudes about their political system and nation at an early age, and that most American adolescents and adults retain this generalized basic loyalty to state and nation, even in the face of contrary influences. (Patrick, p. 69.)

The fact that the development of national identification and loyalty apparently occurs at an early age suggests that perhaps "high school social studies teachers do not need to be mainly concerned with inculcating loyalty to state and nation." (Patrick, p. 69.)

The recent research in the development of national loyalties suggests that perhaps even the elementary schools do not have to be so concerned with the inculcation of patriotic attitudes. Hess and Torney's research on elementary school age children suggests that with respect to the development of national loyality the family may be the primary agent of socialization and hence a major institution which insures the stability of basic institutions. The making of Americans is a process that takes place very early in most children's development and is a process that in large measure results from the consensus of family, community, peers and the school. Thus, it may be that both elementary and secondary schools enjoy a freedom to become the organizational agents for expanded world affairs education and environments in which children and young people can learn how to think and to critically analyze social beliefs and values.

Litt Study

The first of several less inferential and more direct studies of curriculum was concerned with the existence of overtly nationalistic orientations within U. S. high school students. Litt (1963) conducted a study of the relationship between various social studies textbooks, civic education, community norms, and high school student's change in attitudes in three communities in the Boston area. Among the topics rated from a random sample of paragraphs in the textbooks was "political chauvinism - references to the unique and nationalistic character of 'democracy' or 'good government' as an American monopoly, and glorified treatment of American political institutions, procedures, and public figures" (Litt, 1963, p. 70). Only in the lower-middle class community did the percentage of chauvinistic references characterize more than 5 percent of the paragraphs (and then the figure was actually 6 percent). Students were also tested on a scale of political chauvinism including the following items:

> The American political system is a model that foreigners would do well to copy.
>
> The founding fathers created a blessed and unique republic when they gave us the Constitution.
>
> Americans are more democratic than any other people.
>
> American political institutions are the best in the world.

Each question was answered with a five point choice - ranging from agree strongly to disagree strongly. Five scales in other areas of political socialization (with less international relevance) were included. The author did not state how he weighted individual items. The following table compares the attitudes of students in the three communities before and after civics education classes (in the case of the Class group) and over the same time period without class experience (for the matched Control group).

Table G-1

Comparison of Percentage of Sample
Strongly Holding Attitude of Political Chauvinism
Before and After Civics Class, or Control Condition*

	Class			Controls		
	N	Before	After	N	Before	After
Community A	38	23%	8%	44	19%	18%
Community B	51	31	19	46	29	27
Community C	59	29	10	63	33	38

*Table adapted from Litt, 1963

A decrease in chauvinistic sentiment as a result of the civics course and also an increase in support of the democratic creed (another of the scales) were two results which held across the three communities. This suggests that high school civics courses are successful at least to some extent in modifying chauvinistic sentiment. The content of the course itself with respect to international orientations was not given.

Two studies have compared the effects of traditional curriculum with more modern and innovative curriculum.

Williams Study

Williams (1961), in a briefly presented study, attempted to assess the differential impact of two curricula in the geography of West Africa on the attitudes toward West African Negroes of 13 and 14-year-old British students. The experimental curriculum, which was taught to 47 students, "sought to emphasize not so much the physical and regional geography of West Africa as the actual details of everyday life, the nature of current problems facing the people of the area, and the help which was being given by such international bodies as the specialized agencies of the U. N." (Williams, p. 293, 1961). The control curriculum was a more standard geography (physical, historical, and regional) of West Africa. The author taught both classes. A general attitude scale was given to both groups (scale attributed to G. E. R. Burroughs) before and after the 20-lesson curriculum. The mean score of the group given the standard curriculum changed by .2 points in a favorable direction; the change recorded in the experimental group was 7.6 points. It is difficult to determine from the statistics presented whether these pre-post differences in the experimental group would have reached statistical significance. The author felt, however, that within limitations, the value of this type of curriculum should be explored. He did not indicate where curriculum plans might be obtained, however.

Elley Study

Elley (1964) investigated the possibility of inducing attitudes favorable to international understanding in 14-year-old boys in a New Zealand secondary school. Attitudes toward war were examined with a Thurstone-type scale, and attitudes toward thirteen national groups were investigated with Bogardus attitudes scales. An experimental course emphasizing international understanding was taught by the author to the experimental group of 29; a second class of 30 was taught by the author according to the regular curriculum; and a third group, another control class of 33, was taught the traditional course by another teacher. After a four-month course of study, all classes were retested to ascertain attitude shift, and the experimental group was tested a third time two months later. All students were below average in intelligence (mean of groups on Otis ranged from 90.1 to 95.2) and in social status.

The following concepts were included in the experimental social studies course:

1. Brief historical outline of the causes and effects of war.

2. Outline of attempts to keep the peace, with particular emphasis on the League of Nations and the United Nations.

3. Illustrations of interdependence of nations and similarity of people's needs throughout the world.

4. Detailed study of the life and problems of the people of India, China, Japan, Holland and Russia.

Active participation was encouraged. The control groups studied the same geographical areas with extra work on the geography of the Pacific. Emphasis was placed on such things as climate, vegetation, and products; more traditional lectures were used.

On the Attitude toward War Scales there was a significant change between the pre- and post-test (significant at the .01 level) in the experimental group while there was no significant change in the control groups. The testing two months later showed that the change in the experimental groups had been maintained.

On the Social Distance Scales there was, within the experimental group, an increase in tolerance toward all national groups. Looking only at attitudes toward those five countries chosen for special study, there was a statistically significant increase for four. There were no significant changes in national toleration within the control groups (although they had also studied the same countries, but using a more traditional focus). After the additional two-month interval, all changes in the experimental group remained significant except for attitudes toward the Japanese. The author suggests that this may be due to films of World War II shown in compulsory military training.

The author's conclusion was: "Schools make little contribution to international understanding unless teachers deliberately plan to foster it" (Elley, 1964, p. 325).

These two experiments have several common factors which should be noted. First, both were conducted by teachers using curriculum plans of their own making. Second, these curricula were expressly designed to contrast with conventional curriculum, though covering the same geographical area. Third, both authors, though cautious about the generality of their findings, suggest that schools must make a conscious effort to foster international understanding with explicit curriculum material and tasks, rather than expect knowledge acquired to generalize to improved attitudes.

Bellak Study

A study recently completed by Bellak (1966) will be of particular interest because of his findings concerning the relationship between prescribed curriculum and active classroom interaction. The research used a standard curriculum which was taught by each of fifteen teachers during the period of time when the research team was observing in the classrooms. A curriculum unit on international economic problems with a stress on the value of free trade was used. Pupils were given pre- and post-tests based in large part on materials in the booklets they had studied and including one question to ascertain their attitudes toward economics as a subject of study. In coding substantive meaning of teacher-student interactions the researchers found that all teachers devoted a fair proportion of their time to discussions relevant to trade, but that there was great variation in the amount of time spent on specific topics. In one class, exports and imports were discussed in

23.5 percent of the verbal interactions; in another class, this topic occupied only .5 percent of the time. Free trade (basically the theme of the materials) was discussed in 38.4% of the interactions of one class and in only 4.7 percent of those of another - in spite of the fact that the curriculum guides and booklets were identical. The largest number of interactions was classified by the authors as substantive logical (meaning that the teacher was explaining and stating facts). Very few evaluative opinions were given by the teachers. There was no relationship between the particulars of classroom interaction and changes in attitudes toward economics on the part of students. On the basis of IQ and pretest scores the authors predicted the mean post-test scores of the different classes. Teachers of classes where the actual post-test mean was higher than the predicted mean had utilized fact-stating and explaining to a lesser degree (67 percent compared with 81 percent) than teachers of classes scoring lower than predicted.

Oliver and Shaver Study

Before concluding this section, it is important to mention the work of Oliver and Shaver (1966) describing their experimental social issues curriculum for use in high school. Their findings cannot be briefly summarized. They are interested in the task of developing curriculum to deal with problems of international relevance - realizing the difficulty of teaching students to deal with political controversy in which one or more parties in the dispute have different ethical bases (Fascism or Communism) or where they are communities which have only recently attempted to enter the liberal democratic tradition.

> It is quite possible...that the student's ability to deal with domestic problems in an explicit, ethical and legal framework will help him deal with international issues more intelligently. First, if the student learns to distinguish essential ethical commitments from superficial custom within our own society, he may well be able to make the same judgments regarding other nations. (The fact that the Soviet Union places severe restrictions on free speech and the organization of voluntary groups is greater cause for concern than the fact that the Soviet national sport is not baseball or football). (Oliver and Shaver, 1966, pp. 84-85.)

They also suggest that foreign policy developed as the center of a new curriculum including subtopics, such as disarmament, the uncommitted nations, the stabilization of central Europe, the underdeveloped countries, and the relationship between power and law in the international community.

Another major contribution of this study is their analysis of the teaching dialogue itself - too complex to be handled here, except to say that they contrast recitation teaching, where the teacher is thought to control knowledge, with Socratic teaching, where the student is required to consider alternatives and present his own position.

Conclusion

These several examples illustrate some of the implications of current socialization research for the work of elementary and secondary schools and suggest several areas and methods for further work. The expansion in all areas of socialization research will eventually generate still other implications. Thus, as noted above, there is a need for periodic reviews of research findings designed to extract from these findings their implications for the content, organization, and sequencing of world affairs education in the schools.

International Orientations as a Subject of Social Science Research

International education or socialization, as used in this report, is conceptualized as the social experiences and learning processes through which individuals develop images of the world system and cognitive and affective orientations towards particular components of that system. While international education so conceived is clearly a life-long process, there is good reason to believe that the years of childhood and adolescence are critical in the international education of most individuals. A good deal of learning occurs later, but usually within the parameters formed by the beliefs, attitudes, conceptualizations, and feelings acquired early in life.

If these assumptions are correct then research on the international socialization or education of children and adolescents constitutes a very important domain of social scientific inquiry. At present we know relatively little about the content of children's and young people's international orientations and still less about the process through which these orientations are initially acquired and are changed.

There are three basic values to a compendium of research such as this. The first is to satisfy ourselves that this is a defineable area for which certain conceptual orientations are appropriate; second is to determine regularities of data including a mapping of those areas where information exists and those as yet relatively untapped. Third is to provide an impetus to further work.

The review itself has indicated that existing data is concentrated in a few content areas, with a few age groups, and often with limited generalizability and inadequate conceptualization. Existing possible areas of concern and possible objects of research are very diverse and include topics (psychological and educational) where either little material currently exists or where existing material needs to be reanalyzed or reconceptualized in order to bring it to bear more directly on these problems.

Substantive Content of Needed Research

Studies of pre-adult orientations toward the earth as a planet

While there is some research currently available relating in a peripheral manner to this matter (particularly studies of the development of geographical concepts), to our knowledge the extant research is limited in providing an overall picture of what is known about the knowledge, conceptual imagery, and attitudes of pre-adults toward the earth as a planet. The following areas of research seem warranted:

1. Studies of children's cognitive imagery of the earth in relation to the larger cosmic system.

2. Studies of children's cognitive imagery of the cosmological and geological histories of the earth.

3. Studies of children's cognitive imagery of the influence of physical environments on human life.

4. Studies of children's cognitive understanding of and attitudes toward problems of air, water, and soil pollution, mineral conservation, and the exploitation of ocean resources. Many people argue (and we believe rightly so) that an interest or concern with the problems of controlling further deterioration in the human environment and a concern with the "rational" exploitation of newly discovered ocean resources must be developed in childhood in a large portion of the population if it is to be developed at all.

5. Studies of children's cognitive imagery and attitudes toward space exploration. There is good reason to assume that we are currently seeing the beginnings of a world-wide debate about man/outer space interrelations which includes the issues of how outer space should be controlled and what fraction of human resources should be devoted to space exploration relative to investment on world-wide problems in education, health, the reduction of poverty. Many of the basic conceptualizations and attitudes that will structure this debate in the decades ahead are being formed within children and young people who are now in school.

Studies of pre-adult orientation toward the human species

In a great many respects research aimed at illuminating children's and young people's cognitive understanding of their own species would appear to be one of the most significant kinds of research in international education that could be undertaken at this time. This research would include the following kinds of studies:

1. Studies of the way in which pre-adults perceive and conceptualize life/non-life differences.

2. Studies of the way in which pre-adults perceive and conceptualize man/other living system differences and similarities.

3. Studies of pre-adults' conceptual imagery of and attitudes toward human history and the place of their own lifetime in it.

4. Studies of pre-adults' conceptual imagery of and attitudes toward human differences and/or similarities. These clearly include:

    a. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward physiological differences, particularly racial differences. There is of course a massive volume of extant and on-going research on children's racial attitudes. There appears, however, to be relatively little research available on the way children and young people conceptualize and explain racial differentiation as an example of human differences.

b. Studies of pre-adult conceptual images of and orientations toward differences in human actions, particularly cultural differences. Cultural differences are defined as differences in socially shared perceptions, beliefs, and values. (Thus cultural differences include religious differences and ideological differences.) While it is obvious that children begin to perceive differences (both inter-personal and inter-group) in human actions and ways of life at a very early age, little is known about the cognitive categories in terms of which pre-adults and particularly young children explain or account for differences. This as well as children's affective ability to emphasize the positions of persons in a different cultural framework are of special importance.

c. Studies of pre-adult orientation toward differences in human social institutions, particularly family systems, political systems, and economic systems. At this point emphasis should be placed on studies designed to illuminate the categories in terms of which pre-adults perceive social system differences and the concepts used in explaining or accounting for perceived differences.

d. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward linguistical differences. In addition to physiological differences between human beings, children apparently seize upon differences in languages and dialectics as affectively important variables in classifying (and judging) people. Hence it seems important to expand our understanding of the way in which pre-adults perceive and explain language differences.

5. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward socio-cultural change. These should include studies of the way children perceive and value changes in social institutions, societies, and cultural beliefs as well as the conceptual categories in terms of which change is explained.

6. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward inequalities in the distribution of such human values as wealth, education, health respect, and power. Stress should be placed on studies designed to illuminate the extent to which children experience inequalities (both within and between societies) as a morally salient issue; studies designed to illuminate the conceptual categories in terms of which perceived inequalities are explained or accounted for; and studies of children's attitudes toward inequalities including the conceptual categories in terms of which equality and/or inequality is justified as fair, just, good, etc.

Studies of pre-adult orientations toward the international social system.

1. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward their own and other national societies. There is a good deal of existing research dealing with children's and young people's images of their own and other societies which provides a solid foundation on which to base several types of future research.

   a. Studies of the content and structure of national self-images including the symbols widely used in the political socialization process.

   b. Studies of the structure of national loyalty and the stages in its development.

   c. Studies of the content and structure of images or perceptions of other nations.

   d. Studies of the conceptual dimensions in terms of which children and young people make comparative judgments about national societies and the cognitive categories in terms of which perceived differences are explained. One should include research directed to the problem of close and distant experience in their effect upon international socialization.

2. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward cross-national organizations and associations.

   a. Studies of children's and young people's awareness and images of the functions performed by different international organizations.

   b. Studies of children's and young people's attitudes toward cross-national organizations as organizational substitutes or supplements to the nation state.

3. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward inter-societal relations and processes.

   a. Studies of children's images of international conflict and conflict resolution, particularly war.

   b. Studies of children's images of international collaboration or cooperation, particularly peace.

   c. Studies of children's images and attitudes toward international power or influence.

4. Studies of pre-adult orientations toward international social problems. Included are:

   a. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of managing inter-group violence.

   b. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of population growth.

c. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of economic development.

5. Studies of pre-adult images of the future of the nation-state system. These include studies of young people's images of possible alternatives to the nation-state system and their attitudes toward these.

Related Studies of Pre-Adult Capacities

1. Studies of egocentrism in children's perception or modes of thinking.
2. Studies of the development and/or decay of ethnocentrism in children's perceptions or modes of thinking.
3. Studies of the development of a capacity for empathy within children.
4. Studies of the content and structure of children's moral judgments.
5. Studies of the structure of children's international attitudes.
6. Studies of the scope of pre-adult's awareness, the depth of their cognitive knowledge, and effective saliance of international phenomena.
7. Studies of the development of an emotional acceptance or tolerance of diversity.
8. Studies of the development of an emotional capacity to adapt to socio-cultural change.
9. Studies of the development of a capacity to "live with" social conflict and hostility.
10. Studies of the development of a capacity to "live with" moral ambiguity.
11. Studies of the development of a capacity to experience multiple loyalties or to perceive oneself as a responsible member of many different human groups.
12. Studies of the development of a sense of trans-national moral and social responsibility.

Types of Needed Studies

In the last section we have briefly outlined the substantive content of research we believe ought to be undertaken in the field of international education. Certain of the following types of research studies are more useful for one particular content area than for others.

Descriptive studies of the content of pre-adult international orientations.

Given the overall paucity of knowlege about the "world view" of young people, there is a need for descriptive studies designed to provide relatively simple, descriptive information about the content of the international orientation of children and adolescents at different age levels. How do third graders "typically" view war? How do ninth graders view the nation-state system? What images of Africa prevail among primary grade children? How much awareness and knowledge do graduating high school seniors possess about international organizations? These are examples of a wide range of simple descriptive questions about the content of the "international world" of pre-adults that need to be systematically explored if we are to begin to build detailed profiles of pre-adult international orientations.

Developmentally oriented studies of pre-adult international orientations.

By developmentally oriented studies, we mean change or growth in international orientations through time presumably accounted for by the increasing maturity of individuals as well as age linked experience (such as school). It is difficult to plan descriptively oriented research which does not also focus upon development. How do children's images of conflict change during their elementary school years? Do young people's attitudes toward other nations alter during their high school years? The type of inquiry we have in mind is illustrated by the Hess and Torney research (1967) on the development of domestic political attitudes and in the international field by the work of Piaget and Weil (1951), Jahoda (1963), and many others cited in this review. More studies are needed of young children, extending even to the early years of language development because of the concepts and values that develop so rapidly during that period. This requires still more ingenious methods of questioning as well as a broadened concern with the roots and precursors of world attitudes, and with conceptual dimensions rather than with specifics of international orientations.

Beginning with young children we need longitudinal studies of the development of attitudes toward world society. Alternative to that (since extensive longitudinal studies of the development are nightmares of administration and financing) is what Bell has called quasi- longitudinal studies. In such a study, for example, children of 8, 10, and 12 might be tested twice at 2 year intervals, giving overlapping information and allowing a separation of developmental and social generational factors.

In the study of groups young and old, cross sectional and longitudinal, methods need to be divergent in approach. It is important to reconceptualize the problem area of international studies in order to focus upon cognitive roots of international orientation, as well as upon models of the processes of socialization.

Method of Obtaining Information

To date the majority of socialization research (outside of anthropological studies of child rearing practices) has been in the form of studies using various kinds of questionnaire instruments administered to large samples of young people. Survey research and paper and pencil tests alone cannot provide a complete or in-depth picture of social orientations or the processes through which these develop. Responses may be forced into a set of patterns with little opportunity for the respondents to give unique or unorthodox responses. Children may give answers that they believe the researcher or their teacher wants. Reported behavior may differ markedly from the individual's actual behavior. Thus, there is a need to supplement large scale, questionnaire-based studies with in-depth examinations of smaller samples of children.

One type of such study consists of intensive interviews in which the researcher probes for additional information or clarification. Many of these approaches call for concrete material with some interest for children such as open-ended questions like those used by Lambert and Klineberg, "What are you?". In this case some useful questions might be: "Tell me about the place where you live?" or even "Where do you live?". What is relevant to children? -- the size of their house, the race of the people in the neighborhood, the particular persons who live near them, or even perhaps national, state, or city identifications. One might ask children to tell about the last time they heard about another country, or heard two adults talking about world affairs or saw something that made them think about people who live elsewhere in the world.[10]

Other types of questions which would be useful are inquiries about children's ideal norms -- what they think should be the case and to what extent they see these ideals realized. Stereotypes need to be explored -- is this concept a useful way of organizing what we know of children's orientations? The use of pictures as stimulus material is another useful way of focusing the child's interest. For example, children can be asked to choose "the best thing to do" when given pictures of two alternative ways of resolving a disagreement.

One can also make use of fantasy. For example, children can be asked to pretend that they are establishing a society on a desert island (see Adelson and O'Neil, (1966)) or observing the world from the vantage point of a space man or re-drawing national boundaries. "What if" questions also fall into this category - "How might the social world be different had the continents not drifted apart?", "What would happen had Hitler won the war?". One might also ask children to assume the role of teaching children on another planet about the planet earth. The researcher would pose basic questions, for example, "Are you human beings the only form of life on the planet?" "No, then are there other forms of life like you or different from you?" "Do all human beings have the same skin color?" "No, why are human beings different?". With small children puppets dressed in "space uniforms" can be used in conjunction with this.

Another kind of in-depth study is participant-observation based on reconstruction of the "international world" of the child. By directly observing one or more children over a period of time and supplementing these observations with some interviewing a "portrait" of children's "information environment" could be constructed. What do they hear and see of international relevance? What information seems salient to them? What are the sources within this life space of world affairs messages? What adult communications seem to influence their views?

Simulations, games, role playing, and dramatic situations also constitute technologies around which to develop in-depth studies of children's and young peoplds international orientation. (See Shaftel and Shaftel (1967).) For example, one might construct brief scenarios depicting international crises involving the U.S. and ask young people to select from among alternative actions and discuss them. (See Worchell for a similar study with adults (1967).) Children could be asked to assess the probability of various events within the next ten years -- events like a third world war, or abolition of world poverty. Children could also be placed in teaching situations where they, for a short period, might teach younger children. As the work of Mary Alice White indicates (White & Boehm (1968)) this provides, among other things, insights into how children organise information.

In addition to basically descriptive studies, we need to investigate children's conceptual structures and processes. What concepts or conceptual dimensions do children use to organize their information about the international scene? What role do the processes of differentiation and integration play? How do children structure, reduce, expand the information which they receive? In other words, we need to investigate the non-content dimensions of children's international orientations. (See Torney (1965) for a discussion of non-content dimensions of national political attitudes). Many open-ended and fantasy-oriented questions are appropriate for dealing with non-content dimensions as well as revealing cognitive approaches to the possible.

There are several techniques which have been used in determining diversity of cognitive structure in adults which are also appropriate for dealing with children's cognitive maps of the international world. The prototype of this is Kelly's Rep Test, where the tested individual is asked to classify persons or dimensions, telling how two persons are like each other and unlike a third person. (See also Bieri and Blacker, (1956).) Lambert and Klineberg (1967) likewise suggested that a useful technique would be to ask how two nations are like each other and unlike a third.

Studying Inter-Group Variations and Sub-Cultural Differences

Existing literature on domestic political socialization evidences the presence of significant inter-group variations and sub-cultural differences in the content and probably the process of socialization within the United States. Greenstein (1965) discerned significant sex-related differences in the New Haven children he studied. Langston and Jennings (1968) in their study of the impact of the civics curriculum upon nine dimensions of high school students' political orientations found a significant difference between whites and blacks. More than half of the Hess and Torney (1967) volume is devoted to differences between socio-economic status groups, the sexes, children of different intelligence, religion, and social participation groups. Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron (1968) observed significant regional-socio-cultural differences in the orientations of both elementary and secondary students. Group variation is a major thrust in current research on national political socialization.

Studies of adult orientations to world affairs revealed many differences related to socio-economic status, religion, ethnicity, regions, and sex.

(For summaries of relevant research see Scott, (1965) and Rosenberg, (1965).) While some of these differences undoubtedly have their origin in the life situation of adults, others undoubtedly began to develop during childhood. Thus, there is a need for studies of inter-group or sub-cultural differences in the international orientations of children and in the processes through which these are acquired. Needless to say, one particular need in regard to this general area is studies of the international socialization of black children, (which should probably be planned and carried out by black social scientists).

Comparative Cross-National Studies of Pre-Adult International Orientations.

All social scientific inquiry confronts a problem of cultural bias, but there is reason to believe that the problems of culturally bounded findings and limited generalizations are particularly acute in regard to socialization research. While there is no total escape from these problems, comparative cross-national studies afford one means of reducing the effects of cultural bias on research findings and social theory. Moreover, the mapping of cross-national similarities and differences in the content of pre-adult international orientations and in the process of international socialization constitutes an important domain of inquiry in its own right. One example of the basic type of comparative research that should be undertaken is found in the recent Lambert and Klineberg cross-national study of children's attitudes or images of their own and other countries.

Studies of Generational Changes in Pre-Adult International Orientations.

The socialization of young humans takes place in a set of historical circumstances that are partially unique to a given generation. In periods of rapid socio-cultural change there is very likely to be considerable discontinuity in the historical context in which parents and children and even different siblings are socialized, and hence, generational differences in social perceptions, values, and beliefs. Existing research on international orientations of both Europeans and Americans reveals several kinds of generational differences which appear to have their foundation in differences that emerged in childhood. On-going or continuous studies of generational change in international orientations appear to be one of the major needs in current international socialization research.

Studies of the Agents of International Socialization

International socialization takes place in a variety of institutional environments of which the school is clearly one, but only one, of several. It is difficult to unravel the relative impact of family, school, mass media, peer groups and other agents of socialization on the over-all process through which children and young people acquire their images, perceptions, beliefs, values; research on the relative importance of different agencies of international socialization is no less important for being methodologically difficult. Specifically, two types of studies are particularly needed at this point. One of these is studies of the impact of television on the international orientations of pre-adults. The second type of study can be termed curriculum impact studies, that is, studies of the influence of school curriculum on international orientations. Two kinds of curriculum research can be readily identified. One is research on the impact of particular courses or sets of courses. Existing studies by Langston and Jennings (1968) and by Beyer and Hicks (1968) raise some very serious questions about the kind of influence curriculum has upon students' social orientations. There is clearly a need for systematic studies of what, if any, influence such courses as world history, world cultures, and international relations, have upon students' international orientations.

Studies of the Processes of International Learning

How do children and young people acquire their international orientations? There have been several recent efforts within social psychology and child development research to develop models of social learning which we believe should be explored in efforts to illuminate the processes involved in the acquisition of different kinds of international orientations. One such set of models in the area of political socialization to national social systems is the presentation by Hess and Torney (1967). Hopefully, these models have considerable relevance for understanding the development of views of the international world and perhaps even socialization into world citizenship.

a. The Accumulation Model -- This approach makes the assumption that skills, attitudes, and role expectations are simply accumulated in relatively unrelated units. Adults make frequent, direct and specific attempts to teach children those things which they believe that children should know. Because there need not be any logical consistency between the elements presented to the child, this might be called the "confetti theory" of storage and retrieval. It makes few assumptions about the child's abilities or needs as they may limit or facilitate the teaching process. Someone who implicitly follows the Accumulation Model is likely to expect that what is presented by the teacher and what is learned by the pupil will be identical. A curriculum which requires that the child memorize dates or facts by repetitive drill or that he learn to apply a single method of problem-solving by plugging given numbers into formulas to produce solutions illustrates this model.

b. Role Transfer Model [11] -- This model stresses the patterns of need fulfillment and motivations that the child possesses as a product of his experience in different roles -- as a boy or girl child in his family and as a pupil in his school.

He brings these already acquired motivations and expectations to the current learning situation. There is considerable overlap between systems in the socialization process. Sex roles and roles adopted in response to parental authority are probably adopted by the child in dealing with the political authority system as well. The assumption is that children structure, modify and may also distort information in accordance with the internalized structure of their roles and associated needs.

There are many similarities between this approach and concerns of the educator. Attempts to facilitate transfer of learning, learning sets and curricula which include the application of past experience to the understanding of the motivation of characters in literature are examples.

c. Identification Model[12] -- This point of view stresses the child's modeling of the behavior or attitudes of some other person -- usually a parent or teacher -- even though the adult may never have discussed the attitude with the child. The child may either model small units of behavior or he may take on general identifications (like political party). In some cases the child may understand none of the ramifications of party identification, and the identification may therefore lack consistent relationship with attitudes toward partisan issues or candidates, for example.

This model is adopted by schools when they bring scientists into the classroom with the hope that children will adopt elements of the scientific method. The use of the inquiry method in the laboratory and the simulation and role playing methods in social studies are other ways in which this model is used (Shaftel and Shaftel, 1967). This method is probably most useful in understanding the acquisition of motivation and value orientations (such as participant citizen action) and least useful in explaining the acquisition of specific information.

d. Cognitive-Development Model -- Here the emphasis is upon the existence of tendencies within the child to transform, stabilize and differentiate knowledge as well as store it for retrieval. It serves to explain some of the slippage between learning and teaching and is in some respects a reaction against the "confetti theory" assumed by the Accumulation Model. To quote Piaget: "the great mystery of development... is irreducible to an accumulation of isolated learning acquisitions." (Piaget, 1967, p.533). This model points out that the child's capacity to deal with certain concepts has an influence upon the learning he demonstrates. Distinctions between concrete and abstract (Werner, 1948), between concrete and formal operation (the work of Piaget reviewed by Flavell, 1963) and the development of differentiated sex role (Kohlberg, 1966) are among the sources of this model.

This model when applied generally to the classroom gives clues to the stumbling blocks children experience in the learning process. For example, at the time when children can view a situation only in terms of their own egocentric perspective, it may be difficult to teach them to think in an international framework. Likewise it may be difficult to inculcate the value of internationalism when the child cannot think of himself as performing roles in more than one social system. As a third example, the acceptance of the value of disagreement within the national government requires that children be able to perceive an ideal of government operation and contrast it with the realities of a given practical political situation.

Summary

We have reviewed the substantive content, the methods, some of the major issues, and the theoretical dimension in looking toward future research in international orientations. A similar review conducted in ten years' time may be quite different in issues and focus. There is a tantalizing background upon which to build and possibilities at present seem nearly unlimited.

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CHAPTER V

TEACHER EDUCATION WITHIN A WORLD SYSTEM

Formal educational systems have throughout human history been major exemplars of the chasm that separates human aspiration from human achievement. Seneca's dictum, "Non vitae sed scholae discusum" is as potent a criticism today as it was 2,000 years ago. Formal schooling is still but a pale reflection of the pulsating drama of life. In large measure, the school was, and continues to be, both insular and insulated; circumscribed by narrow vision and protected by tradition and circumstance from the challenging and dynamic forces of social interaction in the world.

The past may have been able to afford the luxury of these limitations. Its guiding educational principles were buttressed by many social, political and economic forces which helped to sustain the dichotomy between schooling and life. The elite could, without fear of serious contradiction, use society's educational tools to shape their progeny in their own image, often to the detriment and disparagement of the rest of society. Society's leaders could afford to maintain a philosophical view that deprecated action and celebrated the unchanging nature of ideas and values so long as the dependent multitudes remained inert and passive. Further, they could safely promulgate the view that security and social welfare depended on the maintenance of distinctive personal and cultural identities. The outsider, the threat to social progress, became the "barbarian", the "savage", the "gentile" or the "non-gentile", the "infidel", or the "black power advocate", the embodiment of evil design or subversive ideology.

The current world-wide social unrest is adequate evidence that these attitudes and conditions, though still entrenched deeply in the fabric of human endeavor, are no longer adequate to cope with or provide solutions for the problems besetting the world. Rapidly increasing urbanization, ethnic and racial antagonisms, the changes and dislocations brought about by an advancing technology, disintegration of traditional social patterns, the depletion of natural resources, increasing over-population, growing food shortages, wide-spread illiteracy in a large portion of the world, continuing international tensions in an age of weapons of mass-destruction and disaffection among the world's youth are but a few of the problems that demand intense commitment from all of those who possess the educational and economic power to respond effectively.

Furthermore, the demands raised by students, faculties and citizens for a greater correlation between life and education, between the responsibilities of citizens and appropriate education for youth to assume these responsibilities, are additional indications that new forces now contend in the world arena. The nature of these forces has been ably described in other sections of this study, including the explosion of population and knowledge and the expansion of human relations facilitated within the context of a "shrinking world." The climate of unrest and danger is not the only force that demands a reorientation of America's educational system and its teachers. The changes brought about by technology have created unprecedented conditions for human interaction on a global scale. The opportunity to penetrate the lives of others has brought about the conditions whereby new conceptions of humanity can be created. As men observe other peoples, other cultures and the accidents of history and environment that created them, a global conception of man becomes increasingly possible.

These conditions also create the opportunity to develop a new conception of education. It is a conception in which education can be considered as a total process; expanding far beyond the restrictions of formal schooling and the limitations of the immediate social and physical environment, into a cultural context of global proportions. The global dimensions of the modern educational environment opens new channels to the individual or societies to come together to accomplish common purposes and to find new accommodations to each other.

The need for this is crucial if one is concerned with a new education for a new generation. By 1970 half the population of America will be under the age of 25. Recent events make it clear that the limits of older forms of authority and patterns of educational experience are no longer effective in responding to or coping with the expectations of youth. Discounting the normal ebullience of this age group, it is probably fair to say that their reactions to current social patterns are a logical extension of America's attempt to democratize its social institutions and relationships. At the core of the responsible and yet revolutionary tendencies exhibited by students, as well as by members of newly emerging nations everywhere, is the demand for the rights of national and international citizenship. It is the demand for a more equal and widely distributed application of one of the basic tenets of democratic ideology - the rights of citizens to participate in those decision-making processes that will affect their own welfare.

International education must encompass those learning experiences in which the decision-making processes are conceived of in global terms, that is, experiences in which individuals have the opportunity to realize their selfhood and express it within a world system composed of other individuals with the same rights of realization and self expression.

The concept of international education as proposed in this study attempts to speak to the problems of human survival, to capitalize on the existence of rapidly changing international alignments and relationships, and to respond to the demands of the world's youth, as well as the dispossessed and disadvantaged, for emancipation and participation.

Furthermore, it is the contention of this paper that the education of teachers is a focal point around which major efforts must be concentrated if a change in educational objectives, encompassing a world view, is to find its way into the content and structure of American education.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has, during the past two decades, maintained an active interest in pushing back the parochial frontiers of American teacher education. As James M.

Becker has pointed out, many other governmental and private agencies have been engaged in the same task. AACTE has attempted to cooperate with these various agencies and efforts in order to ensure that the general societal neglect of teacher education not be reflected in current efforts to add an international dimension to American higher education. The Association has taken the position that: "Without teachers whose own knowledge and attitudes are in tune with the demands which world society now makes for the application of new knowledge, there is little chance that new perspectives can be introduced into the structure and content of modern education, in the United States or anywhere else."[1]

School and Society - The Role of the Teacher

That the teacher plays a significant role in American society--or in any society--is usually accepted without question. This fact has been stated with persuasiveness and persistence and needs little further elaboration. But because of the prominent place of the teacher in perpetuating society's heritage and in energizing human resources toward social progress, criticism of the teacher and his adequacy is voiced no less often than admiration and respect for the teacher's role. It is not without reason that the debate over American education has focused with considerable intensity on teachers and teacher education. For if it is accepted that the teacher is a central element in the formal education of American youth, and that the level of education cannot rise far above the quality of the teacher in the classroom, then the selection, preparation, and performance of these teachers is likely to be a constant source of social concern and criticism.

The net effect of this criticism, whatever its merits may be, has often been to make teacher education a kind of "whipping boy"--a fact that, in the eyes of some foreign educators, reveals an apparent disparity between our domestic views concerning teacher education and the impact of teacher education abroad. Writes one such foreign observer, who now plays a leading role in American international studies:[2]

> In some parts of this country . . . it has become customary to write teachers and teacher education off. Indeed the words "teachers college" seem to be classified as an un-American activity in semantics. You Americans have a great capacity for self-flagellation. You seem to take an especially lustful delight in the area of teacher education, where your destructive efforts have been occasionally almost sadistic. You are so busily preoccupied with self-criticism that you often fail to note that the rest of the world is faithfully copying, while steadily criticizing, many of the educational trends and practices you have pioneered . . . In spite of your dismal deprecations, I maintain that American teachers are still the best educated in the world.

Whatever the merits of the case--and no normative or empirical standards have yet been devised to bring contrasting views into equilibrium in this matter--the teacher in the classroom, for good or ill, is a product of his social and educational environment. That is to say, in large measure teachers reflect their preparatory training and the intellectual and behavioral climate in which it takes place. They are no less a product of societal values and practices than the future citizens whom they educate. They tend to express in the school's activities the same attention (or lack thereof) to human rights, for example, that is characteristic of their training institution or the society that nurtured them. This means that the teacher, like any other individual, can be subject to feelings of alienation, chauvinism, or a sense of powerlessness to deal with global or domestic problems--attitudes that he transmits to the classroom.

This situation points to a further issue that affects the quality of educational effort in the field of international education. The role of the school as the sole arbiter of social change is limited. The societal context, its values, tastes, prejudices and hopes, are important factors that determine the school's orientation and the quality of teaching that is performed in it. The school's philosophy and objectives are invariably framed with reference to the ideals, aspirations and the needs imbedded in the culture of that society. That is, the structure and guiding principles of a nation's educational enterprise are inevitably molded by the society that it serves. If this is the case, several questions should be raised: since American society is deeply involved in international affairs, through the efforts of its scholars, artists, industrial firms, military power, technicians, and tourists, why has the school remained relatively isolated from the effects of society's international encounters? If, indeed there has been a knowledge explosion created by the conditions of global concern, why has it not penetrated the content and quality of American education as a stimulus to fresh thought, social criticism and cultural enlightenment?

Tentative answers to these questions might be given.

1. The awareness of America's global involvement in society at large is limited because the involvement of the American people as a whole has been limited. The impact of thousands of foreign students on our campuses and the tens of thousands of Americans that have participated in international activities of one kind or another has touched only a small proportion of the nation's citizenry.

2. The knowledge industry, whose efforts to sustain our economic activities and further our foreign policies and ventures has rarely concerned itself with programs or institutions that prepare teachers.

3. The traditional content of the schools and teacher education programs has been concerned with the transmission of the conventional wisdom of society and, more recently, with the cataclysmic revolution within our own society, leaving little room for other intellectual exercises or international concerns.

4. Within higher education the support for international studies has, on the one hand, been directed toward the improvement of international skills in departments other than teacher education. On the other hand research programs have been supported whose orientation is unrelated to the development of intercultural awareness in teachers and the public schools.

5. Research evidence indicates that conformity to the existing social order is highly prized, and therefore, taught in the nation's

schools. John Patrick's research findings conclude:[3]

> "Perhaps the most acute educational problem reflected by political socialization research is the proclivity of our schools to approach the task of political socialization in a one-sided manner, especially in schools serving mainly lower or working class children. The schools reinforce and develop strong attitudes toward state and nation. Most children learn well the lessons of conforming to the socio-political status quo."

The existence of this orientation seriously militates against the addition of new content and new perspectives into the system. It has, moreover, a reflexive effect on the training of teachers, who are called upon to make their contribution to the existing order.

6. The problem is, also to a certain degree, a circular one. As a professional, the teacher's vocational interests are determined by the demands of the market for particular skills and competencies. The lack of specific courses or other opportunities in the public schools to which a teacher might apply training in international education, means that there is no stimulus to the departments or colleges of education to provide such training. The schools on the other hand are not willing to allocate their limited resources for the development of internationally oriented courses since there are relatively few teachers educated in this field.

7. In addition, professional training is generally designed to permit the neophyte to enter the profession based on standards and practices determined by his predecessors. This is not a criticism of the system, especially when these standards have a built-in flexibility that permits or fosters innovation. In the field of teacher education, it is generally assumed (by other educators, as well as teacher educators) that the system is characterized by a rigidity that permits little experimentation at least at the level of undergraduate teacher preparation. The fact that this is not necessarily so, is not widely understood. It, therefore, creates a climate of suspicion and indifference to the possibility for collaboration among the various disciplines within higher education--in the field of international teacher education or any other field.

8. With the expansion of the teachers colleges to the status of full fledged, multi-purpose universities, the importance of their teaching education function has been minimized. To acquire status as a multiversity and to fulfill its growing obligations to society, the institutions have had to support manpower--producing programs for purposes other than teaching.

One noted educator points out:[4]

> There is at this moment no serious and continuing effort on the part of the universities to develop scholar-teachers for the undergraduate young and for the generation just behind them in the schools. Although there are a growing number of all-university committees on teacher education, concentration in planning and operation is still on the development of the

> research experts and Ph.D. specialists for the academic and institutional markets, leaving a teaching gap exactly in the middle of the whole educational system. When we look at the total quality of that system, it becomes clear that the achievements of the United States as a civilization and as a world power have been reached by the use of only a fraction of the latent intellectual resources within the population. The only way to bring this latent talent into full play is to develop thousands and thousands of teachers who know how to seek out that talent and to foster it, and first of all, in the colleges, to teach those who will do the teaching. When the problem is traced back far enough, it comes full circle, from early childhood education, through the years to college, to graduate school and back again, with everything interconnected, yet relying on the central pivot of the colleges and universities to make the system work. The colleges and universities are the breeding ground for teaching, yet they have not begun to create the conditions in which teaching and the teacher are honored and rewarded above all else, and in which scholarship, research, and teaching are linked together in the organic set of relationships they must have if the academic culture is to stimulate the best intellectual efforts of college students and the college faculty.

But these are only a few of the basic problems that have, over the years, made it difficult to create a cadre of teachers who can bring the realities of modern society to bear on the school program. The problems, as stated, are not in and of themselves insurmountable. But they do help to identify the arena within which change must take place and the forces that must be brought to bear on the total environment of education, which includes the universities, the schools and society at large.

Teacher Education - the International Dimension

Several studies have been undertaken in recent years to probe and gauge the response now being made by American teacher education institutions to the challenges of a world system. AACTE's concern in this field was given concrete expression through the initiation of a study designed to assess the current efforts in America to prepare teachers for a global society. In addition, the study was made to provide the Association, and the over 800 colleges and universities that make up its membership, with a set of guidelines and recommendations for future activity in this field. The AACTE study was directed by Dr. Harold Taylor who was assisted by an advisory team of teacher educators, social scientists, representatives from the United Nations, the Peace Corps, Education and World Affairs and AACTE. Current attempts to internationalize teacher education were examined in a cross-section of American colleges and universities that prepare teachers. Opportunities for future expansion in this field was gained through a review of literature and discussions with students, government and university leaders in international education, United Nations personnel and members of private organizations. Two publications report the findings of this survey.[5] (A summary of the recommendations emerging from the study can be found in Appendix L.)

International Involvement and Teacher Education

The future effort to provide teachers with competency in the field of international education and simultaneously imbue them with a sense of urgency, is a task of considerable magnitude. Competency is necessary in order to break the vicious circle which is characterized by a lack of courses or activities related to international studies in the schools because of the absence of qualified teachers and the lack of university preparation in this field for teachers because it bears no relationship to the current interests of the schools. Urgency is needed because isolationism, educational or otherwise, is no longer an option for American society. Withdrawal would not only be indicative of intellectual cowardice, but would create conditions that would seriously jeopardize our international interests as well as domestic progress.

During the past two decades government agencies and institutions of higher learning have made some progress in providing the American teacher, or prospective teacher, with opportunity for international involvement. The most prominent of these programs has been the Peace Corps, initiated by President John Kennedy in 1961. Of the 14,000 Peace Corps Volunteers in service today, some 40 percent serve as teachers. A majority of the rest are functionally involved in the teaching process, whether in rural development, community service, or public health. In addition, of some 17,300 Volunteers who served at least two years before terminating their Peace Corps assignments, over 8,000 were teachers. The impact of this experience on the career choices of returning Volunteers has been noteworthy. Over 1,300 are now teaching. The fact that Peace Corps training and experience is gaining recognition by state certification boards and colleges of education is also encouraging. At least 10 states currently grant waivers of the student teaching requirement to returning Peace Corps teachers. Eighty colleges grant academic credit for Peace Corps training and 10 for Peace Corps service, and these figures are changing rapidly.

A number of other programs involve Americans in overseas teaching. Columbia University Teachers College, for example, in its Teachers for East Africa Project, provided some 500 teachers for East African secondary schools from 1961 to 1967. The successor to this program has emphasized teacher education in which experienced teachers have gained valuable experience in the teachers colleges in cooperative efforts with their East African colleagues. The National Education Association Teach Corps Project annually sends qualified teacher volunteers for summer seminars to developing countries. And the Department of Defense and American-sponsored schools overseas employ numerous teachers annually. Programs that utilize overseas experience as a part of the overall professional preparation of teachers are also growing, but are currently few in number. In these programs student-teachers, under the supervision of university faculty, spend a portion of their practice teaching in either an overseas American community school which emphasizes binational enrollment or in a national school of the particular country. More imaginative plans are now underway to make an early selection of such students in their undergraduate career, provide them with the requisite training in language and area studies, arrange for supervised student-teaching in a foreign country, bring the students back to the home campus to complete the degree and certification requirements, and offer graduate courses at the overseas location to encourage students to engage in full-time career teaching overseas while earning credit toward advanced degrees. This plan provides vital experience and personal confrontation with a foreign culture and its educational problems for both prospective teachers and faculty members of the American institution.

Many interinstitutional programs across national lines now exist, but few are specifically designed to cater to the special needs and future vocational demands of the teacher. While foreign language programs have served as a valuable instrument for bringing the youth of the world's people in closer contact, and thereby creating a leavening influence on the international perspectives of American society, the social relevance of these programs for providing teachers and students with new insights into wellsprings of human motivation and behavior in varying environmental contexts, has been largely neglected.

In addition, a number of educational organizations have undertaken the task of arranging study tours overseas for teachers, administrators, deans and department heads, whose policy-making role in the development of new programs on their own campus is often crucial. It is encouraging to note that school systems are also beginning to realize the benefits of international study and travel for their educational programs. Many school districts award in-service credit for such travel, although according to a recent study, there is still little consensus on the criteria for assessing such overseas involvement in terms of its practical relevance for the American classroom.[6]

The significance of these and many other programs lies only partly in the quantitative and cumulative progress that is being made in the field of teacher education and intercultural confrontation. The major import of these approaches is that they are imbedded in a conception of learning that is solidly rooted in first hand experience as a basis for further learning and teaching. Secondly, this confrontation and involvement with other cultures and its representatives offers an effective antidote to the limited cultural confines in which the normal American educator finds himself.

An examination of the role of experience, as a necessary component for shifting the focus of teacher education beyond the culture which confines the teacher, is important for several reasons. First, to emphasize the experiential core that at once provides the focus for the teacher's role as a mediating agent between the content of instruction and the learning growth of the child, and simultaneously provides a context of interlocking social and intellectual relationships enabling the student-teacher to validate in his own personality and cognitive processes all the factual information, abstractions, generalizations, and methodological suggestions found in his academic and professional courses. That the experiential component has not been given its adequate place in the preparation of teachers may be ascertained from the loud complaints by students and critics of education concerning the irrelevancy of much of what is taught in professional education courses. The vaunted irrelevancy is due in part to the structure of much of teacher education, in which immersion in a student-teaching experience follows rather than precedes or accompanies the intellectual discourse on the psychological, social, historical, philosophical, and methodological foundations of education. If it is true, as Herbert La Grone asserts in the AACTE study on teacher education,[7] that teaching requires the making of choices among alternatives, then the power to make a choice and to express it must be forged in an interrelated situation in which content, the teacher, the student, and the environment create the opportunity to explore alternatives, to assess their effectiveness, and then to make new choices. This is not to say that education courses or academic studies do not contribute to the awareness of alternatives and the development of a conceptual scheme to assess and order a behavioral situation. They are indeed vital to any educational program. It is that the sterility of many of the courses is a function of their isolation from and lack of relationship to the student-teacher's own grappling with the complexities of the classroom. In sum, the preparation of the teacher cannot stand apart from direct teaching experience --experience that makes concept-formation and decision-making possible and relevant. Without this interfacing of cognitive discourse and experiential entanglement, the preparation of tomorrow's "international teacher" will suffer from the same deficiencies.

Finally, reform in the area of teacher education, whether devoted to domestic or international objectives, must receive its impetus and its insights from the living situation of the society in which the educational enterprise is nurtured. It is within this context that overseas study and activity makes its contributions to the preparation of teachers competent to assist in shifting the center of education's gravity from the domestic scene to the wider world.

A final consideration in this review of positive signs of progress for widening the scope of the intellectual and programmatic efforts of American teacher education, is the contribution made by the effects of American educational assistance overseas and the role of the Federal government in general. The contributions of the Fulbright program and the National Defense Education Act have been given adequate coverage elsewhere in this study. The potential contribution of the International Education Act of 1966 is still a matter of conjecture, despite the fact that its life has been prolonged, but still not supported by any appropriations.

Little attention has been paid to the efforts of the Agency for International Development (AID) and its precursors. Aside from the Peace Corps, it has been the major source of funds and opportunity for the involvement of American teacher educators in technical assistance abroad. The AACTE study points out that: "The particular virtue of the educational work of AID lies in the fact that it is directly linked to the problems of social and economic development of the countries where aid is provided and is therefore involved in an immediate way with the problems of a viable social structure. Educational questions have to be answered in practical ways, including the basic question of how to educate teachers."[8]

A current AACTE study, still in progress, reveals that over 60 teacher education assistance projects have been supported by AID in Asia, Latin America and Africa during the past 15 years. Each of these involved American teacher educators and other university personnel. The backbone and stimulus to much of the universities' interest in international education stems from the experience and enthusiasm of these men and women.

The question may well be asked, however, why more evidence of their overseas involvement is not found in teacher education programs? The answer revolves around the problem of feeding back this expertise into a conventional program. It appears evident that with but a few exceptions universities with overseas projects have not built this body of experience back into the content and structure of their programs in an organized way.

The problem has been primarily one of an imbalance in the reciprocal flow of expertise and its application. Exports of skilled teacher educators and other types of faculty to conduct action and research programs overseas have far exceeded the reimportation and application of this overseas experience into the American curriculum for teachers in any broad scale or meaningful way. Campus surveys of faculty with overseas experience usually reveal a large number of staff members with such background but who are not utilized in any organized way to touch the lives, education and experience of those who will be teaching in the public schools. Some means must be found to bring this latent pool of resources to bear on the development of courses of studies, research and international experience for future teachers.

Much the same set of criticisms can be applied to the utilization of returning Peace Corps volunteers. The case of the Peace Corps volunteer adds a new dimension to this problem, however. Not only does he bring back an awareness of the intercultural possibilities in international relations, but in many instances he returns to seek out a career which will tap the interests and enthusiasms that led him to join the Peace Corps in the first place. Many of them have found considerable satisfaction in their teaching and community work in foreign countries. The lack of opportunity, within most teacher preparation programs, for channeling their social interests into teaching in the domestic scene in a meaningful way, deters them from entering this profession. The appendix provides several recommendations for capitalizing on the potential contribution that the Peace Corps volunteer can make to international education in universities and schools.

International Teacher Education in America - Status Report

No detailed, comprehensive national survey has been made to date to assess the qualitative or quantitative character of efforts in America to prepare teachers to teach about the nature of the world society. Certain inferences and estimates have been made from the data gathered in the AACTE study as well as from other sources. "Not more than 3 to 5 per cent of all teachers," Taylor reports, "have had in the course of their preparation to become teachers in the social sciences or any other area of the curriculum any formal study of cultures other than in the West, or have studied in a field which could properly be described as world affairs."[9]

Claude Phillips of Western Michigan University in his study of schools in one county in southern Michigan reached essentially the same conclusion. Of the 69 replies from social studies teachers only eight were teaching courses that had a world orientation - primarily world history.[10] Taylor reports on this study: "Seventy-seven percent of the teachers said that they tried to incorporate materials dealing with the non-Western world in existing courses ... although less than half of them had done formal study of any kind in relevant subjects .... Nearly all of them felt that they were not actually prepared to teach subjects beyond those dealing with American and the Western countries."[11] The major barriers cited by Phillips to account for these conditions include: inadequate opportunities for preparation at the university level, an over-emphasis of physical science to the neglect of the social sciences in school and college curricula, and the conservative elements among educational administrators, school boards and the community. Lack of suitably prepared and intellectually stimulating course outlines and resources might be added to this list. Irwin T. Sanders supports these conclusions. He says: "Educationists are quick to point out that preparing teachers to introduce international materials in their secondary school subjects is of little effect if their supervisors, school administrators, and school boards are not interested in such innovation. In other words, a profession is a total social system, of which the educational and training institutions are but a part. Unless innovation is diffused as much as possible into the whole system it will be much less important in a single part."[12]

The professional schools reflect the conditions in secondary schools. Education and World Affairs' survey of AACTE member institutions in 1965 revealed that less than 20 percent of the institutions offered courses dealing with non-American materials and that whatever was being offered was, in most cases, the result of the individual efforts on the part of faculty members.[13]

An excellent survey, by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities of its 191 member institutions in 1966 revealed similar deficiencies to those noted above. Many of these institutions have teacher education as one of their major emphases. Almost half of the institutions offered no non-Western studies, whether identified as such or referred to as "infusion courses" with not more than fifty percent non-Western content.[14]

Admittedly, this analysis of the availability of curricular offerings presents a one-sided picture. For the development of international perspectives in teachers and the skill to encourage positive orientations toward the concepts of a world system in students, cannot be derived from professional and academic courses alone. To accomplish this task requires a series of experiences including involvement in a non-Western cultural setting, operational and pure research, the acquisition of a life and teaching style relevant to the demands of modern global society, and the opportunity to learn and teach, consume and produce, in an atmosphere receptive and supportive of such endeavors in the university, the school, the state and society at large.

An equally important task in this process is the development of perceptions and attitudes on the part of teachers that enable them to view as a total system, the interlocking nature of the world's institutions.

the interdependent nature of human activity, and the need to bring into balance the needs and desires of the "have" and "have not" nations and cultural groups. Formal education is only one of the mechanisms that can produce such a view. But it is a necessary one, nevertheless, and should cooperate wherever and whenever possible with other social processes in this task.

The Future Task

No single criteria, no single-factor theory is capable of providing a final and finite set of solutions to the problem of internationalizing teacher education and the teaching profession. The recommendations contained in the Appendix are but specific examples of types of activities that can be undertaken in the light of present resources and present problems. The pace of change is quickening, however, and new relationships, new configurations of power and new scientific and social knowledge will emerge which will require new solutions.

Several guidelines are suggested to cope with the present state of affairs.

Some of the essential components of experience in a program designed to internationalize future American teachers are suggested.[15]

1. The experience should be one that enables the teacher educator or teacher to enter the lives of others at a level deep enough to make mutual understanding possible. Modes of application include teaching in a foreign country, conducting cooperative research with local counterparts, developing curriculum materials on the foreign culture, again in cooperation with local specialists, for use in American education. Study tours and other means for studying a foreign culture are useful to the extent that they foster mutual understanding.

2. This experience or involvement should be accompanied by structured discourse and individual research to enable the individual to order his behavioral impressions and to open new avenues for further intellectual exploration.

3. The experience and scholarly discourse and study should be undertaken by the teacher educator or student teacher with a view to producing usable materials and concepts in his teaching activities. Studies or experiences conducted in an atmosphere of passivity, an atmosphere which fosters a consumers approach rather than a producers do little more than perpetuate the deficiencies of current academic efforts. For what is involved is not simply a curricular rearrangement. Taylor asserts that: "The academic approach to learning ... has a tendency to sterilize whatever materials are disseminated."[16]

Further, he suggests:[17]

> The world's affairs should be defined as what happens to people in the world rather than what happens in international relations courses. By education in this sense, I mean the process by which each person becomes aware of himself and of his place in the world, how one can best learn to conduct himself in that world and how to contribute something of himself to it. That is the reason for engaging in the study of foreign cultures, not merely to have another item on one's transcript. To achieve an awareness of the world the student needs the opportunity to explore its geography, its peoples, including the peoples of his own society with its subcultures, to learn, through science, the physical characteristics and foundations of nature; through languages, the arts and philosophy, to learn about the ideas, images, and experiences of mankind. These are the world's affairs, and although they include such matters as the history of governments and the international relationships among governments--their wars, their victories, their defeats and the rise and fall of empires and civilizations--the culminating point in education comes when one has learned to understand the nature and character of the world itself in its contemporary manifestation, and when one has learned how to do something useful in that world.

The relationship of the department or college of teacher education to other university departments, natural and social sciences, the fine arts, the humanities, foreign area and language programs, research institutes and, community services, must also be examined from the point of view of whether each segment is making its maximum contribution within the total system of higher education.

1. Serious and prolonged attempts should be made to eradicate the polarization between the professional studies offered in colleges of education and the other academic and research efforts of the university. Although many campuses possess all-university committees or councils for teacher education, the degree of interpenetration of studies and cooperative intellectual and service activities has not proceeded at a rapid enough rate. Two suggestions might be offered. First, the colleges of education should assume the initiative to break down existing barriers, whether the object is to create a cooperative atmosphere for teaching international education or other programs. Second, the concept of the all-university committee for teacher education should be extended to encourage the development of other all-university committees in the arts, humanities and sciences with equal representation from teacher education. Much of the social relevance of the other academic studies is achieved when they are transmitted to future generations who will eventually become college students. The experience of teacher educators, whose total professional commitment is toward building firmer

connections between higher education and the community through its schools, can bring in new dimensions into the activities of the university as a whole.

2. The necessary resources, intellectual and financial, that are required to mount effective international and intercultural programs far outstrip the resources of any one professional school, department, or institution. While larger universities do indeed possess resources that permit them to carry out effective programs, this is not the case with the majority of American centers for higher learning. Intrainstitutional and interinstitutional activity is called for. It is interesting to note that under Title II of the International Education Act it was made clear that the Act was directed toward the support of a total institution or group of institutions rather than individual scholars or small research groups.

3. Institutions would be well advised to make a careful analysis of their own resources and initiate campus-wide discussions regarding their aim in international education before embarking on ambitious programs. It is difficult to achieve total institutional commitment when a program of teacher preparation in this field is undertaken merely as a peripheral activity prompted by academic fashion, external pressure, or the potential availability of outside financing.

4. The continued success of any international program on the campus will be determined by the competence of its faculty and the quality of its instruction and research. Many avenues are open for the improvement of faculty competence in the international sphere: faculty seminars of an interdisciplinary nature that stimulate interest in and knowledge about cultures and that give scholars an opportunity to exercise the knowledge of their own disciplines in new contexts; hiring policies that give some preference to those whose prior training and experience combine professional and disciplinary competence with foreign study, research, or service; close campus-community cooperation to permit faculty and students to take advantage of the learning potential latent in the cultural and linguistic diversity existing in the ghettos of our cities; administrative policies that provide for staff mobility to pursue their specialization on an intercultural plan; and curriculum materials development projects overseas to enable faculty members to work with their professional counterparts overseas under conditions which force them to come to grips with the cultural diversities in the foreign country in a manner that equips them to translate this experience into concrete materials for use by American students.

In the final analysis the success of an international emphasis in America's colleges and universities will depend on the creation of a new educational environment able to foster a more enlightened and perceptive outlook on the part of all who participate in it: the teacher, the undergraduate, the graduate student, the college professor, and the plain but new-fashioned American citizen, a citizen with a world view.

CHAPTER VI

MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL

A complete listing of the talents, resources, programs, and projects which might be utilized to improve international education at the elementary and secondary school level would fill several volumes. These developments are found at all levels of education--kindergarten through graduate school, in programs sponsored by federal, state, and local agencies, and in vast numbers of professional and civic groups. This chapter (1) cites a limited number of efforts; (2) lists selected persons, groups, and sources; (3) briefly summarizes some evidence on how change occurs in education; and (4) suggests some ways of mobilizing resources to maximize the likelihood that needed changes will occur.

College Level Sources

Of interest primarily to adults, and at the college and university levels, are a multitude of foreign area study programs[1] and associations, professional groups of the various social science disciplines, a variety of educational agencies and major libraries, museums and art galleries. The groups range from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education to the Academy of Arts and Sciences; from the American Council on Education to the National Science Foundation. Also included are the professional groups such as: business, public health, engineering, and other agencies such as the Library of Congress and the Society for International Development. Notable among these organizations, because it is an interdisciplinary group with an active interest in all areas of international affairs, is the International Studies Association.

The nature and extent of the concerns of college, university and many professional organizations are documented in a series of studies published or distributed by Education and World Affairs. Included are the following:

The University Looks Abroad: Approaches to World Affairs at Six American Universities. Published by Walker & Company for Education and World Affairs, 1966.

Education and World Affairs: Report on Program 1963-1964. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1965.

Education and World Affairs: An Overview. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1966.

Coordinating International Programs and Activities at U. S. Colleges and Universities: A Directory. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1966, reprinted 1967.

"Intercultural Studies." Reprinted from College Management, February, 1967.

The University and World Affairs. Report of the Committee on the University and World Affairs, J. L. Morrill, Chairman. Published by the Ford Foundation, 1960.

The College and World Affairs. Report of the Committee on the College and World Affairs, John W. Nason, Chairman. Published by the Hazen Foundation, 1964.

The Professional School and World Affairs: Report of the Task Force on Education, Committee on the Professional School and World Affairs, T. Keith Glennan, Chairman, Irwin T. Sanders, Study Director. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1967.

International Offices on U. S. Campuses: A Directory. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1968.

Higher Education and World Affairs, by Allan A. Michie. Published by Education and World Affairs, 1968.

Potentially a valuable source of help, these groups, with few exceptions, have either very limited or no interest in international education at the elementary and secondary school level; nor are most elementary and secondary educators aware that such organizations and groups exist. Some efforts have been made to increase communications among these diverse bodies, but little coordination, cooperation or systematic contact exists.

Evidence of the gaps between college and university concerns in this field and those found at the elementary and secondary school level are readily apparent if one compares the topics and concepts which serve as a major focus among college and university scholars specializing in international relations with the international topics and concepts currently receiving emphasis in the nation's elementary and secondary schools, as revealed by examining widely used social studies texts. (Excellent brief summaries of emphases at the college and university level are found in Platig's International Relations Research; Sondermann's "Changes in the Study of International Relations," Chapter 7 of International Dimensions in the Social Studies, the 1968 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, edited by James Becker and Howard Mehlinger; and Eldridge's "Contemporary Conceptual Changes in International Studies." The outlines found in Basic Courses in International Relations, edited by Vincent Davis and Arthur Gilbert, provide further evidence of current emphases in college work in the international field.)

The treatment of international topics at the elementary and secondary school level has not been the subject of any wide-ranging recent studies; however, Dunlap's "The Teaching of International Relations in Secondary Schools: A Research Report;" Jenning's "Political Learning in the Schools: An Overview and A Special View;" Masia's "Profile of the Current Secondary School Social Studies Curriculum in North Central Association Schools;" a study by the Educational Testing Service, "Social Studies in Secondary Schools: A Survey of Courses and Practices;" and Social Studies in the United States by Cox and Massialas all provide clues to the areas and topics receiving attention in widely used texts and curricula. A review of efforts in schools around the world can be found in International Understanding as an Integral Part of the School Curriculum, published by the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1968.

Evidence that colleges and universities are not only failing to bridge this gap but often give inadequate attention to the whole area of international affairs is provided in The United States and International Education, the 68th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, and Taylor's The World and the American Teacher. Evidence of the failure of colleges and universities to deal with this problem cited by Taylor includes the fact that less than 5% of today's teachers have taken courses in international issues or non-Western area studies.

The inclusion, beginning in 1967-68, of international affairs as part of the NDEA Institute program was an important step in trying to deal with this problem. It remains to be seen whether this very limited effort will be expanded.

Foreign Visitors

The acceleration in the frequency and scope of international exchanges at both student and scholar levels and among peoples from all areas of the globe creates a variety of opportunities, as yet largely unexploited, to add still another dimension to international education. The Institute for International Education, the Experiment in International Living, and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State are among the better known agencies sponsoring a variety of exchange programs. In 1967 student exchange programs involved approximately 100,000 foreign students in the U. S. and 25,000 U. S. students abroad. (See Open Doors, Report on International Exchange; New York: Institute of International Education, 1968.)

Government Programs

The federal government operates, supports, or coordinates a wide range of international programs. The Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Defense, State, Commerce, Agriculture, the U. S. Office of Education (more mention of this later)--all have both research and operational programs in international education. See A Guide to U. S. Government Agencies Involved in International Educational and Cultural Activities, Department of State publication 8405, Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968; and Overseas Foreign Language and Area Studies 1969-70, Division of Foreign Studies, Institute of International Studies, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Dr. Robert Leestma, Director of the Institute of International Studies and Assistant Commissioner of Education, is the key contact in keeping informed of government efforts in this area. A useful document for teachers recently released by the Department of Commerce is Some Resources for Area Training, by Robert J. Foster, et al., The George Washington University, Alexandria, Virginia; Institute for Applied Technology, National Bureau of Standards, U. S. Department of Commerce. A description of programs in the Departments of HEW and State of interest to teachers can be found in the 1968 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, Chapter 15: "Federal Government Programs," by Martin Cramer. Also very useful is a pamphlet prepared by the International Education Association, Suite 305, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036: "International Education and Government."

Of special significance to elementary and secondary educators are the increasing number of efforts to improve instruction by combining talents and resources drawn from both elementary or secondary and college levels and coupling curricular revision and teacher training. Chapter III of this report deals with many of these programs, most of which are supported by the U. S. Office of Education. (See Appendix G for list of Research Projects in the Social Studies supported by the U. S. Office of Education.) While most of these efforts are expected to have national or regional impact, opportunities for state and local improvements in this field are also expanding. Noteworthy in this regard are the range of incentives available under Title III, Supplementary Centers and Services Programs, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This program better known as PACE is designed to support needed supplementary services and to encourage innovative and examplary applications of new knowledge in schools throughout the nation. Although a review of PACE projects for fiscal year 1968 reveals relatively few in the international or intercultural area, the potential for support is there. In 1968 Georgia, Indiana, New Jersey, Michigan, New York, and North Carolina were among the states reporting Title III projects involving innovations in the study of other societies, cultures, and languages.[2] (See Appendix H for list of world affairs projects including selected Title III projects. See also Pacesetters in Innovation, Fiscal Year 1968, Office of Education, Department of HEW, Washington, D. C.) The small number of projects in this area seems to stem from a lack of awareness of the provisions of this program on the part of most educators and the failure of educators aware of the program to provide enough clear, creative proposals. Another major drawback to these efforts thus far is their short life. Many of them have been funded for a year or two and then have gone out of existence with little evidence of having had any impact.

Other U.S.O.E. programs of special significance to elementary and secondary educators are the various institutes, seminars, and other opportunities for training under the Education Professions Development Act of 1967; see "The Preparation of Proposals for Educational Personnel Development Grants 1968, 1969, 1970," Division of Program Administration, Bureau of Educational Personnel Development, Office of Education, Washington, D. C. 20202. For illustrations see Appendix I for a list of EPDA Institutes in international affairs and world areas.

The EPDA Institutes and programs represent an important effort to improve the teaching in many areas of the curriculum including its international and inter-cultural dimensions.

To date, innovations in teacher preparation in the international field are extremely limited. The work of the University of the State of New York and a variety of efforts initiated by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education are among the most valuable. An excellent review of present efforts, needs, and proposals in this field is Harold Taylor's The World and the American Teacher. See also Education and World Affairs' The Professional School and World Affairs.

Regional and State Efforts

At regional and state levels there are numerous organizations which have active efforts or interests in this field, including: The Southern Regional Conference Board, the Education Commission of the States, the regional accrediting associations, and the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education. The outstanding effort among the regional associations is the North Central Associations's Foreign Relations Project. Several State Departments of Education are developing or expanding their interests in international education. Notable among these is the New York State Department of Education, and the University of the State of New York. Their publications include: The International Dimensions of Education in New York State, by Ward Morehouse, Consultant in Foreign Area Studies, 1963; The Challenge of a Revolutionary World, Progress Report: 1965; and Education for the Revolutionary World of the Future, 1969. State Education Departments in Colorado, Pennsylvania, California, Wisconsin and Michigan are also paying more attention to international education. An unusual program involving four southern states is the Regional Educational Agencies Project. (See Appendix H) Funds made available under various federal programs, expecially Title V of ESEA, have been used by states in some instances and could be used a great deal more in furthering efforts in the international field. Two very useful recent summaries of programs at this level are:

A. New Opportunities for Educational Leadership in a Revolutionary World: The Role of the State Educational Agencies in International Education, a preliminary report to the Education Commission of the States, by Ward Morehouse, Center for International Programs and Services, University of the State of New York, August, 1968 (unpublished).

B. "The Role of States in Improving the Teaching of International Affairs," by Gerald W. Marker, Chapter 17 in Becker and Mehlinger, eds., International Dimensions in the Social Studies, the 1968 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Among the more important findings cited in Morehouse's report are:

(1) Education agencies in eight states have used foreign consultants in non-Western area programs.

(2) Ten states report holding statewide conferences or programs in international education.

(3) Twenty-six states report having sponsored in-service programs in international studies.

(4) Twenty-five states give credit for overseas experience.

In spite of some encouraging signs, there is little overall evidence that state and local education agencies are taking advantage of opportunities under federal funds to strengthen the international dimensions of their programs. Comparisons among state guides between the period 1964 and 1968 reveal little real change or progress.

Private Groups

Among the many voluntary associations which serve adult citizens and devote some part of their programs specifically to teachers and students are the World or Foreign Affairs Councils. See Appendix J for a list of such groups compiled in 1968 by the Foreign Policy Association. Sixty-four such groups are identified on this list. For a review of the work performed by these groups, see "How World Affairs Councils Serve Schools, Teachers, and Students," by William C. Rogers, Chapter 18 in the 1968 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Other agencies which provide materials and services that encourage schools to put more emphasis on some aspects of world affairs include: The Asia Society, the Japan Society, the African-American Institute, and the World Law Fund. See Appendix K for a more complete list. See also "Peace and World Affairs Organizations: A Selected Listing" prepared by the Center for War/Peace Studies, Pacific Central Region, 1730 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif.; and "Guide to U. S. National Organizations in World Affairs," Intercom, Vol. 8 No. 4, 1966, Foreign Policy Association.

Use of Foreign Visitors in Elementary and Secondary Schools

Student exchange programs at the elementary and secondary level have witnessed a steady growth in recent years. The American Field Services program, the best known effort at this level, estimates there were approximately 3,000 foreign students and 1,400 U. S. students involved in their exchange programs in 1967-1968. Although many schools sponsor individual foreign students, in general, elementary and secondary school educators make little use of foreign students or visitors. There are, however, a growing number of ambitious programs which use foreign students and foreign scholars as an important part of carefully planned local or regional efforts. A very useful summary of the best of these is Foreign Students in American Elementary and Secondary Schools, by William Brickman, International House of Philadelphia, 140 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 1968. Among the better known efforts in this area are: The Ogontz Plan in the Philadelphia area and "Exploration in Contemporary Cultures," a program utilizing foreign students in instruction, sponsored by the School of Education, University of Southern California, and the Temple City Unified School District. Other seemingly successful efforts involving foreign visitors are the Pittsburgh

Council for International Visitors' program sponsored in cooperation with the Pittsburgh Public Schools and the University of Pittsburgh which uses both scholars and students; the Pennsylvania World Cultures Consultant Program; and the Foreign Affairs Curriculum Specialist Program, Center for International Program and Services, the University of the State of New York. Information about these programs needs to be much more widely distributed.

Individuals

The most valuable resource in this field are the many talented individuals who are devoting time and efforts to bringing about needed changes. The list in Appendix C of this report is by no means exhaustive, but includes those persons who by their participation in the conferences, seminars, interviews or other sessions held during this study, or by their writing, advice, counsel, experience, or interest, contributed to this study and in many other ways provide leadership in this field. In these individuals and the many others whom we have missed or failed to include rests the best hope for continued improvements.

Some Common Problems

Despite the myriad of fields, approaches, organizations, differences in practice, and variations in resources, concerns and in access to schools; individuals and groups in this field face a number of common problems, among them: definitions, goals, resources or rather the lack of them, and, perhaps most important, lack of coordination, cooperation, and communications, which prevents efficient use of existing resources and seriously inhibits progress. Other parts of this study deal with the first three of these problems. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the need to mobilize the vast array of talent, resources, and energy, represented by the individuals, groups, and organizations listed herein, in such a manner as to greatly increase chances of bringing about needed changes. Even a cursory glance at these lists indicate the need for some common means of identification, collection, classification, categorization, communication and dissemination of information in this field.

Unless one is associated with a university reference service and has the time and assistance of trained researchers, information about the existing array of talent and resources is simply not available, and thus cannot be utilized. Since the purpose of mobilizing talent is, in this instance, to bring about change and improvements in international education, we need to look at the prospects for change.

Educational Change: Some Problems and Prospects

Recent widespread interest in planned educational change has produced a variety of conferences, seminars, and meetings involving representatives from a number of disciplines. Reports of these sessions together with a number of recent books on some aspects of innovation and change in education summarize much of what is known about this topic.

Matthew Miles[3] emphasizes the multiplicity of innovative sources and wide variety of strategies and processes used by innovators--polemical, manipulative, technological, prestige-based, experimental, and moralistic. He also distinguishes causes from sources of innovation and suggests confusion here has hampered many efforts to understand the processes of change.

Roland J. Pellegrin examines the position of selected individuals, groups, and organizations and discusses their relationships to the sources of innovation. He discusses the roles played by classroom teachers, administrators, school boards, the lay public, state departments of education, education faculties of colleges and universities, professional associations, the U. S. Office of Education and other federal agencies, textbook publishers, social scientists and other technical experts. While noting that all play a part, he concludes that the greatest stimuli to change in education originates in sources outside the field. Innovations appear to be channeled into the local community "from outside of the community, and in most instances outside the educational profession."[4] Their introduction at this level depends largely upon the superintendent of schools.

The conditions under which innovations are accepted or rejected have been the focus of several studies. Out of this work has come a number of generalizations about change and obstacles to change. The following list is reported by Pellegrin:

(1) When social changes are introduced that are desired by the people involved, they can be assimilated with relatively little disruption; but undesired innovations, even small ones, are difficult to put into effect.

(2) Changes imposed upon a society from outside are very likely to be rejected; forced changes from external sources may result in overt compliance but covert resistance.

(3) When a social change threatens or appears to threaten the values of the people affected, the greater the resistance to change and the greater the social costs involved in introducing the change.

(4) Social changes are more likely to be accepted if they are introduced slowly through existing institutions, with the people affected being involved in discussion of the changes and with much attention being given to persuasion.

(5) In heterogeneous societies change is accepted more rapidly and easily than in homogeneous ones.

(6) Change occurs most frequently, readily, and easily when it involves the material aspects of the culture, when it deals with aspects of the culture close to the society's "cultural focus," and when it deals with "the less basic, less emotionally charged, less sacred, more instrumental or technical aspects than in the opposite."

(7) Changes are more likely to occur in form rather than in substance.

(8) The leaders of major social changes are unlikely to come from those traditionally in control; rather, innovations originate most frequently among deviant, marginal, and disaffected groups.[5]

It is generally accepted that a major source of change is the creative individual. The characteristics of innovators have been discussed in much of the literature dealing with change. Among the more frequently listed attributes of the innovator are: conceptual fluency, originality, deep interest in problems he faces, an ability to "stick with it" wherever it leads, ability to suspend judgment, less authoritarian than most people, relativistic view of life, independence of judgment and not prone to conformity, and a superior reality orientation. Obviously such a person does not fit the description "organization man" and needs considerable outside support to survive in many existing educational settings. Those seeking to bring about changes might well consider how to identify and establish communications with and among innovators as well as how to create a more favorable setting for such persons.

> Generally speaking, the literature emphasizes that innovative organizations are those that create conditions that allow innovative individuals to operate in a facilitating setting. The innovative organization not only tolerates its deviants...but encourages and rewards them.
>
> ...such organizations encourage "idea men;" have open channels of communications; encourage contact with outside sources; employ heterogeneous types of personnel; assign non-specialists as well as experts to problems; use an objective, fact-founded approach; encourage the evaluation of ideas on their merits, rather than according to the status of the persons originating them; make systematic efforts to select personnel and to reward them solely on the basis of merit; invest in basic research and are flexible with regard to long-range planning; experiment with new ideas rather then prejudging things on "rational" grounds--i.e., everything "gets a chance;" are more decentralized and diversified than less innovative organizations; have "administrative slack," permitting time and resources to be used to absorb errors; have a "risk-taking ethos," tolerating and expecting that chances will be taken; are not run as a "tight ship" but permit employees to have fun, to have freedom in choosing and pursuing problems, and to discuss ideas; are organizationally autonomous, and do not try to pattern their interests and activities on other organizations that serve as models; have "separate units or occasions for generating vs. evaluating ideas;" and separate creative from productive functions.[6]

An analysis of some of the special problems of change in education by Ronald Lippitt suggests several items, including:

(1) To a greater extent than in most other fields of endeavor, significant changes in educational practice imply and require changes in the attitudes, skills, and values of the practitioner in order for change to be successfully adopted and adapted.

(2) In education, "a great proportion of the significant new inventions in our field remain quite invisible, undocumented, inaccessible for consideration by potential adopters." There is a high level of "inhibition to communicating." There is "a lack of articulateness about what has been invented and a lack of documentation." In contrast to such fields as medicine or engineering, in which we find a great search for new ideas and products as well as established procedures for discovering them, teachers are characterized by a resistance or an inhibition to adopting another teacher's inventions.

(3) The educator apparently feels that he is supposed to be his own inventor and will be looked down upon by his colleagues and superiors if he adopts or adapts practices from another source.

(4) "There is in education a significant lack of a professional network of communicators and agents of change."

(5) "Frequently colleague relations are felt as inhibitions to trying out and adopting new innovations." Teachers put pressure on one another not to act as "rate busters" with regard to innovation.

(6) Lippitt finds a lack of creative working relations between educational specialists and those in such related fields as psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science.

(7) There is "a lack of clear feedback to reinforce the change efforts to tell the educator whether his tryouts are being successful in directions that he had hoped for."

(8) There is a feeling, particularly among administrators and curriculum coordinators, that there will be "reactions against experimentation in the larger socialization community of parents, agencies, organizations, boards of education."[7]

Other conditions posing major obstacles to change include:

(1) There is serious confusion in the field of education concerning the sources of reliable and valid knowledge.... American education is not oriented toward a systematic search for knowledge; nor does it view either theory or research as necessary bases for reliable and valid knowledge..../E/ducation has a "weak knowledge base" .... (a) Many educators do not conceive of the scientific method and research as being of primary significance to their work; (b) This state of mind creates an atmosphere in which low priority is given to the conduct or utilization of research; (c) Because of low evaluation

and neglect, research continues to be a dubious enterprise; and (d) Because condition (c) exists, condition (a) is perpetuated.

(2) In view of the tremendous complexity, size, and scope of the educational enterprise in the United States, the division of labor that exists is rudimentary and wholly inadequate for the specialized roles that must be performed if we are to make the right kinds of innovations effectively....

(3) ....Most training programs do not prepare students for a wide variety of specialized roles, but attempt to give them a conception of the field of education which minimizes specializations. A major consequence is that relatively few specialists are prepared, especially in research, development, and dissemination;....

(4) There is a lack of opportunity, resources, and settings for introducing innovations on an experimental basis and for evaluating them objectively through research.

(5) Persons who play different roles in education--teachers, administrators, and researchers, for example--do not have their work linked together by any institutionalized means or procedures. Thus each can--and often does--conduct his work in isolation from and ignorance of the knowledge and specialized competencies of the other.

(6) There are grave weaknesses of channels and procedures for dissemination. Unlike many academic disciplines, education cannot rely almost exclusively on the printed media for disseminating information....

(7) .../T/he professional culture in education contains certain ideological beliefs that "serve to block effective innovation by effectively insulating educational practitioners from reality." For example, beliefs that American schools are locally controlled, that the school teacher is an independent autonomous professional, and that teaching can never be effectively measured or specified in other than intuitive terms, all appear to serve the function of protective myths. "....local innovative efforts are restricted by the fact that the teacher's role is actually that of a bureaucratic functionary who has little power to initiate system-wide change, but--because of the ideology concerning professionalism alluded to above--tends to resist innovative demands, like most professionals in bureaucratic organizations."

(8) How educational practices can be related accurately to the goals and ambitions of the public is a question that is shrouded in doubt and uncertainty. A paradox, in fact, exists: while most change in education is externally induced, educators have but limited and highly unreliable means of identifying the scope and intensity of public demands for educational programs. Research has demonstrated repeatedly that educators

> interact with but a small fraction of the total population of the community....[8]

Recent reports, studies and discussions have provided insights into the sources and processes of change as well as the many factors which militate against innovation. They also have served to dramatize the fact that for the first time in our history, resources are available for extensive innovative activity under sponsorship of federal government and private agencies.

It is time for basic revisions in our time-honored approaches to change. In international education as in other areas of education we need to utilize recent insights and devise better means of relating research results to educational practice.

Among the changes in thinking and practice advocated in a recent effort by Pellegrin to summarize the literature on this problem are:

> (1) ....The new orientation must give priority to the institutionalization of innovative activities as a fundamental part of the entire educational system. A scientific, analytical attitude toward the solution of educational problems is an absolute necessity. We need to establish research as the basis for educational practice....it is probable that significant innovations in education during the next few years will not rest to any substantial extent upon new basic research findings. Rather, they will result from efforts on the part of developmental researchers, translators, change agents, trainers, and disseminators to discover the best empirical evidence available in existing research....
>
> (2) In order to relate knowledge to practice effectively, we need to create and establish a substantial number of role specializations. The lack of new positions and roles for carrying out the complex tasks to be performed is one of the most serious impediments in our attempts to translate knowledge into practice....
>
> (4) A great deal of effort will have to be given to the development of linkages or connections between and among specialists who play different roles. The establishment of innovations requires that the specialists work together in an organized and systematic fashion, with knowledge of and respect for the contributions each can make to the total process of innovation.
>
> (5) In order to bring these fundamental changes about, we will have to reorganize the status system that exists in the field of education. We need to re-legitimize old statuses and to legitimate new ones. Above all, we must develop reward systems that are compatible with the functional importance of the roles that will be played....
>
> (6) Much of our success in innovative efforts in the future will depend upon the professionalization of all actors in the educational establishment. It is clear from the literature on

> organizations that foster innovativeness that colleague relationships must prevail in order for people to work cooperatively and effectively with one another. We must modify the bureaucratic mode of operation which is prevalent, and reconcile the conflicting demands of professionalization and bureaucratization....[9]

Better ways need to be devised to link research results with potential uses. Communication in education is a many-channeled process involving the exchange of messages within and among different levels of education, several academic disciplines and many areas of specialization, professional organizations, and public and private sectors. The existing networks for exchanging messages are complex. However modest, carefully planned activities might greatly improve communications which are essential in any effort to maximize the inadequate but not insignificant resources found in this field.

What is needed is a mechanism for linking separate and often isolated resources and talents. Such a body could:

(1) Identify and provide easy access to significant research, development, and successful practices relevant to international education.

(2) Analyze, summarize, and communicate the results of research, development, and practice in a form that practitioners and decision-makers can understand and use.

(3) Encourage national, state, and local education agencies to use information effectively in planning and operating education programs.

(4) Help develop linkages among local, state, and national information sources, and begin to build a nationwide network of resources and talents for moving in this field.

Evidence to date suggests that efforts to share responsibilities, burdens, experiences, and resources seem to succeed in proportion to the specificity and manageability of agreed-upon goals and objectives. Such an operation should be clearly focused on mobilizing selected talent and resources for the purpose of improving international education at the elementary and secondary school level. Through a series of seminars, reports, and discussions, a running account of relevant research, curriculum development, and promising practice would be used to identify needs, tasks, resources, and talents, and to stimulate appropriate individuals and organizations to better utilize opportunities afforded by current trends and developments. A small task force in each of such areas as: (1) research, (2) teacher education and (3) curriculum development, together with an overall coordinating committee, a series of papers prepared annually, one or two seminar sessions each year, and widely distributed reports of the most pertinent developments in each of these areas, would greatly enhance the ability of elemenetary and secondary educators to effectively employ existing knowledge, insights, and talent on international affairs.

Summary

Inadequate resources are a fact of life in the international affairs field. The proliferation and fragmentation of efforts resulting largely from traditional divisions represented by elementary, secondary, and higher education; federal, state and local programs; and professional associations of teachers, administrators, or academic disciplines, dissipate the limited resources to the extent that at present, significant overall changes and progress seem highly unlikely if not impossible.

If needed improvements are to be made, a mechanism capable of mobilizing the limited but not insignificant resources in the field must be designed and made operable. Cooperation must be maximized and resources optimized. Such an effort is desperately needed to provide more educators with productive access to much of the nation's significant output of relevant information in this field.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Introduction

In recent years a great deal has been done to improve the international dimension of elementary and secondary education in the United States. Increased emphasis is being placed upon the study of the so-called "non-Western world." Teachers and curriculum developers evidence a growing interest in cross-national and cross-cultural comparative studies of family systems, politics, economic systems, religions, societies, cultures, etc. Many educators and scholars are calling for increased objectivity and more intellectual honesty in the ways in which schools teach young people about the United States, other nations, and international events and institutions. Closely related to this trend are recent efforts to provide materials which expose students to non-American perceptions and interpretations of American life and U.S. involvement in the world community. Teachers display a growing interest in instructing young Americans about foreign policy and international relations as textbooks, collections of readings, films, case studies, and simulations become available. Historians have been joined by anthropologists in efforts to "globalize" the study of world history as evidenced in endeavors to improve the quality of instruction about the biological evolution and early cultural history of the human species; in efforts to expand the time students devote to the study of human history in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and in attempts to write histories of mankind relatively free from the ethnocentric bias that tends to characterize many traditional European-centered accounts of man's historical journey. This emphasis upon the study of man qua man is also manifest in attempts by social scientists to inject into elementary and secondary education more behavioral science-based study of basic human behaviors, including studies that make extensive use of man-other animal comparisons.

These trends illustrate the considerable progress that is being made in improving international education in American schools, but unhappily education must be judged by the magnitude of the society's needs as well as by records of past progress. When viewed from the perspective of what needs to be done to equip children and young people to live constructively in the anticipated world of the twenty-first century, there are few grounds for complacency. There is much that can and should be done to enhance the quality of international education in the nation's elementary and secondary schools.

Improvement depends upon many factors. Among these are: the adequacy of the basic conceptions or definitions of international education which undergird specific programs and activities; the clarity and appropriateness of the educational objectives which guide and shape the schools' efforts in the field of international education; the extent and quality of research and development work in international education; and the degree to which relevant intellectual resources are identified and mobilized to undertake needed research and development tasks. It is these four matters that constitute the concerns of the Foreign Policy Association study. These concerns are briefly summarized in the following questions.

> What is international education? That is, how can international education be most fruitfully defined or conceptualized?
>
> What should be the major objectives of international education in the schools? That is, what contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to the international education of children and young people?
>
> Given answers to these questions, what needs to be done with respect to curriculum development, basic research, and teacher education in the field of international education?
>
> What intellectual talents and resources exist for undertaking needed research and development work and how can these be effectively mobilized?

The study does not pretend to give to these questions final and universally acceptable answers. Rather, the purpose of the study is to selectively survey the thinking of American educators and social scientists with respect to these questions, and hopefully in so doing to lay the foundation for a continuing and systematic examination of needs, objectives, and priorities in international education. In short, it is hoped that the conclusions and recommendations set forth in the study will serve as stimuli and guides to a continuing dialogue and exploration as well as to new research and development efforts in the field of international education.

In the following pages the conclusions and recommendations with respect to each of the four problems of concern to the FPA study are briefly summarized.

II. The Problem of Defining International Education

The first problem of concern to the FPA study is definitional and is summarized in the question: What is international education? That is, for the purposes of planning and developing future curriculum, basic research, and programs in teacher education, how can international education be most fruitfully defined or conceptualized?

The term "international education" is used in a variety of contexts and hence is subject to a multiplicity of meanings several of which are of little or no relevance to a consideration of international education in elementary and secondary schools. Within this context few schools, educators or social scientists claim to have a well-developed philosophy or conception of what international education is all about. However, an examination of curriculum guides, materials, and instructional approaches common to American schools suggests that much of existing international education is grounded in one or two widely prevailing conceptions of the field. The first of these is the notion that international education is education about other lands and other peoples. The second prevailing conception is the notion that international education is the learning that takes place in certain specified areas of academic specialization such as in courses in foreign policy or international relations, world history or geography, cross-national comparative studies, and foreign area studies.

While neither of these widely-held, albeit seldom formalized, conceptions of international education is wrong, for a variety of reasons each fails to provide a satisfactory conceptual foundation on which to plan and develop future programs in international education. The FPA study endeavors to develop an alternative and, hopefully, more adequate conceptualization of international education. This effort proceeds in the following way.

First, on the basis of an examination of extant literature and conversations with many educators and social scientists the study develops a set of criteria deemed relevant to the task of judging the adequacy of alternative conceptions of international education. Summarized in propositional form these criteria are:

1. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that avoid the ethnocentrism inherent in sharp divisions between the study of American and non-American societies and that facilitate the integration of American and international studies.

2. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that encourage and conceptually facilitate the integration of disciplines and academic concerns traditionally associated with international studies at the university level.

3. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that explicitly highlight the historically unprecedented degree of interrelatedness that now characterizes mankind at the global level and that explicitly focus attention on the resulting need to educate individuals to understand the world as a whole.

4. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways that serve to conceptually integrate international studies and the broader concerns of the historian and behavioral scientist with the earth as a planet and mankind as a species of life.

5. In planning and developing future programs, international education, because it does touch upon the areas of traditional sensitivity within the culture, should be viewed in ways that minimize negative emotional reactions and widespread political controversy.

6. In planning and developing future programs, international education should be viewed in ways to reflect current and projected major intellectual trends within the behavioral sciences.

The study outlines several alternative definitions or ways of viewing international education and examines these in light of the above criteria. Conceptualizations appearing to violate one or more of these standards are rejected. This procedure yields a recommended conceptualization of international education as education about the world or global system. Put more formally the study argues that in planning and developing future programs we may usefully conceptualize international education as: the social experiences and learning processes through which individuals acquire and change their images of the world perceived as a totality and their more specific orientations toward particular components of the world system.

III. The Problem of Defining Curriculum Objectives for International Education

If improvement in international education depends upon developing and communicating new and hopefully more adequate ways of conceptualizing international education as a field of endeavor, there is also a closely related and equally pressing need to develop and communicate clarified images of the objectives that ought to be served by the international dimension of the K-12 curriculum. This matter of objectives is the second major problem of interest to the FPA study. Our concern is summarized in the question: What contributions can and should the K-12 curriculum make to the international education of American children and young people?

The study endeavors to explore this question in the following way. Several alternative approaches to the problem of defining or specifying curriculum objectives are explored, and for a variety of reasons rejected. The study concludes that effective use can be made of a widely prevailing, albeit notoriously ambigious, notion in American education, i.e., the concept of "education for international or world understanding."

On the basis of the definition of international education developed in this work, the FPA study seeks to explicate in considerable detail the concept of "education for international understanding." This explication or conceptual elaboration then is used as a basis for developing a typology of curriculum objectives. The major elements of the typology are summarized below.

I. The K-12 curriculum should develop students' knowledge and cognitive understanding of the world system. This implies:

    A. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of the earth as a planet. This implies:

        1. Developing some comprehension of the place of the world system in cosmic space and time. This implies:

        a. Some understanding of the location of the earth in the cosmic system.

        b. Some understanding of the cosmological and geological histories of the planet.

        c. Some understanding of the differences and similarities between the earth and other planets (actual and imagined).

    2. Developing some understanding of the earth as a set of physical systems that both condition and are conditioned by living systems and particularly man. This implies:

        a. Some understanding of the planet's contemporary geography and geology with special emphasis upon an understanding of the interactions between the planet's physical characteristics and the evolution of life,and particularly man's bio-cultural development.

B. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of mankind as a species of life. This implies:

    1. Developing a comparative understanding of man as one of many living systems. This implies:

        a. Some understanding of similarities and differences between living and non-living systems.

        b. Some understanding of similarities and differences between man and other living systems.

    2. Developing an understanding of basic human commonalities. This implies:

        a. Some understanding of man's common biological needs.

        b. Some understanding of man's common psychological needs.

        c. Some understanding of the functional needs of human societies and their component social and cultural systems.

        d. Some understanding of similarities, analogies, or parallels in the historical experience of different groups.

    3. Developing an understanding of the sources of differences in human actions and life styles. This implies:

        a. Some understanding of human behaviors as being socially learned and culturally conditioned.

    4. Developing some understandings of basic human behavior and social activities that are grounded in the behavioral sciences. This implies:

        a. Some behavioral science-based understanding of particular human behaviors.

        b. Some understanding of human beings as biological systems, as personality systems, as actors in social systems, as "products" of cultural systems, and as participants in systems of natural ecology.

    5. Developing some understanding of major structural characteristics of the human species. This implies the development of some understanding of the phenomena summarized by the following kinds of generalizations.

        a. The human species is a racially diverse species.

        b. The human species is a linguistically diverse species.

        c. The human species is a culturally diverse species.

        d. The human species is an institutionally diverse species.

        e. The human species is generally an economically depressed species but with vast disparities in the wealth, education, health, etc. enjoyed by its members.

        f. The human species is a politically uncentralized (or stateless) species.

        g. The human species is demographically a rapidly expanding species.

        h. The human species is an increasingly urbanized species.

        i. The human species is an increasingly violent species.

        j. The human species is an increasingly industrialized (mechanized) species.

        k. The human species is an increasingly interdependent species.

    6. Developing some "species centered" or "globally focused" understanding of major events, trends, transformations, etc. in man's biological evolution and socio-cultural development.

    7. Developing some understanding of the process and dynamics of socio-cultural change within particular societies and within the human species in general.

C. The curriculum should develop students' understanding of the international or global social system as one level of human social organization. This implies:

    1. Developing some understanding of the major entities that comprise the contemporary international system. This implies:

    a. Some comparative understanding of the modern world's some 130 nation-states.

    b. Some functionally oriented understanding of cross-national organizations both governmental and non-governmental.

    c. Some understanding of the international status of the planet's polar regions, its oceans, and outer space.

2. Developing some historical understanding of the nation-state system as one of many historical and imaginable forms of politically organizing the human species.

3. Developing some understanding of major social processes within the international system. This implies:

    a. Some understanding of inter-nation conflict and conflict resolution.

    b. Some understanding of inter-nation war.

    c. Some understanding of inter-nation collaboration and integration.

    d. Some understanding of inter-nation communications and transportation.

    e. Some understanding of inter-nation trade, investment, and foreign aid.

    f. Some understanding of cultural diffusion.

    g. Some understanding of the processes of inter-nation influence or power.

4. Developing some understanding of major international social problems. This implies:

    a. Some understanding of the problems of controlling or managing inter-group, particularly inter-nation, violence and of creating institutions for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

    b. Some understanding of the problem of controlling population growth.

    c. Some understanding of the problems of "modernizing" developing societies.

    d. Some understanding of the problems of controlling the social and psychological costs of rapid socio-cultural change, particularly technological change, urbanization, and the bureaucratization of social organizations.

e. Some understanding of the problems of controlling further deterioration in man's natural environments.

f. Some understanding of the problem of exploiting the resources of the world's oceans and outer-space for the welfare of mankind in general.

II. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to view the world system as a whole and particular phenomena within it conceptually, comparatively, and globally. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop within students a perceptual or cognitive capacity to see or to think of empirically concrete or historically specific phenomena (events, institutions, actions, etc.) as particular instances or cases within a larger class of analytically comparable phenomena.

B. The curriculum should develop within students an ability to compare two or more phenomena in a conceptually sophisticated way. This implies:

1. An ability to conceive of two or more objects being compared in terms of both similarities and differences.

2. An ability to recognize that one's relative perception of similarities and differences is influenced by the size and nature of the sample of objects being compared.

3. An ability to think of differences as matters of degree rather than simply kind.

C. The curriculum should develop within students a capacity to think of or imagine the world as a totality and to perceive particular phenomena holistically or within a global frame of reference. This implies:

1. Developing a comprehension of the interrelatedness of the human species qua species.

2. Developing a comprehension of the interrelatedness of man as a system of life and the planet earth as a set of interrelated physical systems.

3. Developing a comprehension of the world system as one subsystem within the larger cosmic system.

III. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to make logically valid and empirically grounded analytical judgments. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop within students a "realistic" attitude toward knowledge. This implies:

1. Developing within students an understanding of knowledge as a set of man-created hypotheses or images.

2. Developing within students the capacity to conceptualize phenomena in alternative ways.

3. Developing within students awareness of the influence of cultural setting and social situation on human knowledge, and particularly their own perception and interpretation of the world.

B. The curriculum should develop within students an understanding of and some skill in the process of social scientific inquiry. This implies:

   1. Developing within students some understanding of the process of inquiry. This implies developing students' understanding of:

      a. The nature of analytical problems or questions in the social sciences.

      b. The nature of and types of propositions and hypotheses found in the social sciences.

      c. The nature of concepts and variables.

      d. The logic of measurement and the methodologies of data or information acquisition in the social sciences.

      e. The logic and methodology of sampling.

      f. The logic of evidence in social inquiry.

      g. The nature and uses of theory in social inquiry.

   2. Developing students' inquiry skills. Included are:

      a. An ability to distinguish statements expressing descriptive beliefs, explanatory beliefs, predictive beliefs, and normative beliefs.

      b. An ability to identify and formulate in question form analytical problems inherent in a set of data or in an argument about a given phenomena and to critically appraise these formulations.

      c. An ability to identify alternative beliefs about a given phenomena and to state these beliefs in the form of explicit propositions or hypotheses.

      d. An ability to recognize and to explicate the logical implication of hypotheses.

      e. An ability to identify the concepts that must be defined and the variables that must be "measured" in order to empirically test propositions or hypotheses.

f. An ability to conceptually define these concepts and to think of or "invent" ways in which variables might be measured.

g. An ability to critically examine conceptual definitions and operational measures.

h. An ability to identify the kind and form of information or data that a test of propositions calls for; that is, the kind and form of data implied by proposed operational measures of variables.

i. An ability to identify and to evaluate possible sources of data.

j. An ability to collect, organize and to evaluate data in terms of their apparent validity and reliability.

k. An ability to evaluate hypotheses or propositions in light of data and then to accordingly reject them, accept them, or modify them.

l. An ability to relate two or more propositions together to form a "theory".

m. An ability to recognize or identify the logical implications of a theory.

n. An ability to judge or evaluate the merits of alternative theories.

IV. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to make rational, analytical, explicit and humane normative judgments or evaluations.

A. The development of a capacity to make rational evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should seek to develop individuals who are relatively free psychologically to hold attitudes independent of personality needs and group norms.

B. The development of a capacity to make analytical evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to analyze normative disagreements in terms of semantic, perceptual, and valuational sources of conflict.

C. The development of a capacity to make explicit evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to explicitly articulate values in terms of which they believe given phenomena should be judged.

2. The curriculum should develop the ability of students to explicitly consider operational or behavioral meanings of values in terms of which judgments are to be made.

3. The curriculum should develop the capacity of students to explicitly consider the information that is needed to reach sound judgments about whether a given object does or does not possess the desired value qualities.

D. The development of a capacity to make humane evaluations implies:

1. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of egocentric perceptions.

2. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of ethnocentric perceptions.

3. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking that are relatively free from the influence of stereotypic perceptions.

4. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by moral or ethical complexity.

5. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by a capacity for empathetic understanding.

6. The curriculum should develop within students modes of thinking characterized by a "world-minded" value orientation.

V. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to understand and to critically analyze and judge foreign policy decisions. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop students' knowledge about and conceptual understanding of how foreign policy decisions are made particularly within the American system.

B. The curriculum should develop students' ability to analyze foreign policy decisions in terms of the major factors operating within the decisional process and to make judgments about particular decisions (actual or proposed) in light of these factors. This implies an ability to analyze and judge decisions in terms of the following kinds of questions:

1. Will this decision really help attain my country's goals?

2. Will this decision work out well, given other nations' goals and possible actions?

3. Do we have the resources to carry out this action in wealth, war-power, other nations' support, etc.?

4. Does this action fit the economic situation of my nation and its allies?

5. Will the politicians and public support this action?

6. Will this action create important military risks for us and our allies?

7. Will this line of action seriously endanger future international cooperation or the welfare of the human race?

8. Is this action realistic, given what is known about the feelings, fears or attitudes of other countries and their leaders?

9. Is this action moral or immoral in terms of any one of my country's deepest beliefs?

10. Given the situation as analyzed is this an action where benefits outweigh risks and costs? Does it need to be done at this time?

VI. The K-12 curriculum should develop students' capacity to intelligently and critically observe current history of the world system. This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop within students an interest in current affairs, that is, a motivation to seek out information about world affairs.

B. The curriculum should develop within students the vocabulary and conceptual understanding needed to follow current events through the mass media, in TV specials, and in semi-scholarly magazines, etc.

C. The curriculum should develop within students an understanding of the structure and functioning of the international communication system that links citizens to events, developments, actions, etc. within their international environment.

VII. The K-12 curriculum should develop the capacity of students to constructively adapt to the "realities of the human condition". This implies:

A. The curriculum should develop students' sensitivity to and emotional acceptance of diversity in human actions, perceptions, cognitions, valuations, and social institutions.

B. The curriculum should develop students' acceptance of and a set of socially responsible attitudes toward technological and socio-cultural changes.

C. The curriculum should develop students' sensitivity to and acceptance of the political and ethical implications of mankind's increasing interdependence.

D. The curriculum should develop students' capacity to experience multiple loyalties, to perceive and feel themselves to be responsible members of sub-national, national and cross-national groups.

E. The curriculum should develop students' capacity to emotionally tolerate the tensions of continued inter-group conflict and hostility.

IV. The Problems of Curriculum Development, Basic Research, and Teacher Education

The third major concern of the FPA study is summarized in the question: What are the implications of the conceptions of the structure and objectives of international education developed in this study for future curriculum development, for basic research, and for teacher education?

Curriculum Development

The FPA study seeks to deal with two questions regarding curriculum development. First, what is currently being done in social studies curriculum development relevant to the image of international education developed in the FPA study? Second, what needs to be done to further improve the international dimension of the school curriculum?

With respect to the first of these questions, the study selectively reviews materials and approaches resulting from the current social studies reform movement. Although few curriculum developers have been explicitly, or even exclusively, concerned with international education, a great deal of the newly developed and forthcoming materials are very relevant to the objectives of international education set forth in the FPA study. The dissemination and use of many of the products of the "new social studies" should serve to substantially strengthen the international dimension of the K-12 curriculum in American schools. Progress, however, has not been uniform in the field of international education. Some aspects of international education have attracted considerably more attention and effort than others. For example, considerably more teaching-learning resources have been developed for the comparative study of social institutions than for the comparative study of man as one species of life; and a great deal more attention has been devoted to the study of man's past history than to an examination of man's alternative futures.

In summary, the review of current curriculum development indicates considerable progress is being made in expanding the volume and improving the quality of curriculum materials in international education, but it also suggests a range of developmental needs that should be met in the years ahead. These are briefly summarized in the form of recommendations.

1. It is recommended that an inventory of available teaching-learning resources should be created and periodically up-dated.

A typology of objectives such as outlined in the FPA study could be used to organize and catalogue information about new materials. Once created, an inventory would serve three primary needs.

a. The inventory could serve as the basis for bibliographies, newsletters, and meetings designed to inform teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers of the availability of materials for teaching about given phenomena at different grade levels.

b. The inventory could serve to alert leadership in the profession to gaps and shortcomings in instructional materials and media.

c. The inventory, if subject to periodic review and up-dating, could serve as a means of assessing the degree to which patterns and trends in curriculum development are responding to the results of research, the demonstrated needs of teachers, and the changing patterns of resource allocation.

2. It is recommended that curriculum evaluation instruments and planning guides be developed.

Many teachers, schools, and school systems are engaged in periodic or continuous curriculum revision. Often these efforts take place in the absence of an over-all framework designed to highlight problem areas and to pinpoint questions that teachers and curriculum designers should explicitly consider in their planning and development work. The need exists for a set of instruments that could be used in the self-evaluation of curriculum systems and in the planning of change. The conception of international education and the typology of curriculum objectives developed in the FPA study provide one potentially fruitful conceptual framework on which to develop sets of instruments for curriculum evaluation and planning.

3. It is recommended that sets of behavioral objectives be developed relevant to instruction at different grade levels.

While not stated in behavioral terms, the typology of objectives developed in the FPA study appears capable of being translated into a series of behavioral objectives relevant to children and young people at different grade or age levels. Such a set of behaviorally-stated objectives would be useful in the development of inventories of learning resources, in the creation of curriculum evaluation and planning guides, and in the development of a wide range of new teaching-learning resources.

4. It is recommended that new teaching-learning resources which make use of a wide variety of media be developed in each of the following areas:

a. Materials for the comparative study of American and world history.

b. Materials for the comparative study of social institutions.

c. Materials for the study of foreign policy and international relations.

d. Materials for globally oriented studies of world history, particularly for the study of the emergence and structure of contemporary global society.

e. Materials integrating the life sciences and behavioral sciences in comparatively focused studies of man as one species of life.

f. Materials designed to develop students' understanding of human differences and of socio-cultural change. Included here are materials explicitly designed to involve students in examinations of alternative futures.

g. Materials designed to facilitate the comparative study of geographical regions and cultural areas.

h. Materials for a social science-oriented study of cross-nation organizations and inter-nation social processes. These should include materials on international organization qua organization, materials on non-governmental organizations as well as inter-governmental organizations, and materials for the study of such major inter-nation social processes as conflict and collaboration, power or influence, cultural diffusion, integration, migration, communication.

i. Value-centered and policy-oriented materials for the study of major international social problems, particularly the problems of war and peace, global economic development and social justice, population control, and environmental health.

These recommendations reflect the fact that a great deal can be done to "internationalize" the extant curriculum in American schools if appropriate teaching-learning resources are made available to teachers. In addition to traditional textbook materials, these resources include simulation games, role-playing exercises, case studies, books of readings, and data analysis exercises including programs making extensive use of computer facilities, visual media, and mass media.

5. It is recommended that efforts be undertaken to develop one or more models of K-12 curriculum which are explicitly grounded in a world systems approach to international education.

While a great deal can be done to enhance the quality of the international dimension of existing curriculum without radically modifying its over-all structure or organization, there is a pressing need to experiment with alternative models or patterns of curriculum organization. For example, a school might seek to develop over a several year period a curriculum which utilizes newly developed materials from projects in such fields as earth science, biology, geography, sociology, anthropology, history, and economics to provide students with a sequence of experiences designed to develop their understanding of the earth as a planet, man as a species, and the global social system as one level of human social organization.

Basic Research

The improvement of education depends ultimately upon advances in basic research. International education would seem to be an area where research is particularly critical since we know relatively little about the "international world of the child" and about the processes and agents of learning involved in the acquisition and development of international beliefs, attitudes, and values.

The FPA study reviews much of the major extant research in the field of international learning or socialization (the review is focused upon studies of pre-adult orientations toward various aspects of the international social system) and argues that high priority be given to the development of a more adequate research base for a national effort to improve international education. The study outlines several types and areas of needed research.

1. It is recommended that research be undertaken on the content and development of pre-adult orientations toward each aspect of the world system. Inquiry on the following topics seems particularly relevant to international education.

   A. Orientations toward the earth as a planet:

      a. Studies of children's images of the earth as a part of the larger cosmic system.

      b. Studies of children's cognitive images of the interaction of man with his physical and biological environments.

      c. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward major problems in contemporary man-earth relationships particularly including problems of environmental pollution, resource conservation, and new resource development.

      d. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward space exploration, particularly the sociocultural implications of space exploration.

   B. Orientations toward the human species:

      a. Studies of the content and development of perceptions or conceptualizations of life non-life differences and similarities and of man-other animal differences and similarities.

b. Studies of the content and development of children's attitudes toward or operating philosophies of human history.

c. Studies of the content and development of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward human differences. Included are studies of psychological differences particularly racial differentiation; inter-personal differences in actions, beliefs, values, etc.; inter-group differences in social institutions (e.g. family structure, polities, economies, etc.); and cultural differences (including ideologies, religions, and languages).

d. Studies of the content and development of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward social and cultural change, including their images of and attitudes toward alternative futures.

e. Studies of the content and development of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward inequalities in the distribution of such human values as wealth, power, health, respect, safety, and education.

C. Orientations toward the international social system:

a. Studies of the content and development of children's cognitive and affective images of their own and other national societies. Included are studies of national self-images, the socio-psychological aspects of national loyality, and perceptions of other nations.

b. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward cross-national organizations and associations, their conceptions of international organization as such, and their images of particular organizations such as the United Nations.

c. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward the contemporary territorial state as one form of human socio-political organization.

d. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward major inter-societal social processes including war and peace, international collaboration, international power and influence, and foreign policy decision-making.

e. Studies of children's beliefs about and attitudes toward major international social problems including particularly the problems of world order, population control, and economic development.

2. It is recommended that research be undertaken on the content and development of specific cognitive-affective capacities which are of particular relevance to international education. Included are:

a. Studies of the development of non-ethnocentric thinking.

b. Studies of the development of non-stereotypic thinking.

c. Studies of the development of children's moral judgment.

d. Studies of the development of a tolerance for human diversity, for change, and for conflict.

e. Studies of the development of multi-group loyalty.

3. It is recommended that several different kinds or approaches to research on international learning be undertaken. There is a particular need for the following kinds of studies:

    a. Relatively simple descriptive studies aimed at mapping the content of children's international orientations in areas about which there currently exists very little information, e.g. children's images of man-other animal similarities and differences.

    b. Developmental psychology-based studies of the sequence of international learning.

    c. Comparative, cross-national studies of children's international beliefs and attitudes.

    d. Studies of sub-cultural variations in children's international orientations, e.g. studies of blacks, culturally isolated whites, student radicals, etc.

    e. Studies of the educational and, more specifically, the curriculum implications of findings emerging from basic research on international learning.

    f. In-depth, case studies of the content, structure, and development of children's international orientations.

    g. Studies of the agents of international learning, particularly the influence of parents, schools (including school culture as well as formal curriculum) and the mass media (including children's movies and TV programs).

    h. Studies of the socio-psychological mechanisms or processes involved in international learning.

    i. Comparative examinations of the content, structure, and process of national and international socialization.

    j. Studies of the systemic consequences or impacts of variations and changes in the content and process of international learning.

Teacher Education

In addition to curriculum development and basic research on international learning, the FPA study is concerned with teacher education. Happily, Harold Taylor's study of the international education of teachers sponsored by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education was completed during the course of the FPA study. Since the general thrust of the set of detailed recommendations from the Taylor study closely parallels the essentials of the argument emerging from the FPA study, no effort is made to elaborate a detailed set of recommendations.

1. It is recommended that universities, colleges, and schools of education be encouraged and supported in efforts to implement the recommendations of the Taylor study.

2. It is recommended that in-service institutes, workshops, and conferences clearly designed to emphasize a global or world system approach to social studies education be encouraged and supported, and that instructional materials specifically designed for use in such sessions be developed.

3. It is recommended that programs designed to provide teachers and student teachers with cross-cultural and over-seas experience be encouraged.

4. It is recommended that involvement in the Peace Corps, Vista, and comparable organizations be recognized as significant experiences in the professional education of teachers.

5. It is recommended that university and college departments in the social sciences and in history be encouraged and supported in efforts to "globalize" undergraduate and graduate instruction.

V. The Problem of Identifying and Mobilizing Intellectual Resources for Research and Development in International Education

The FPA study's concern with the problems of curriculum development, basic research and teacher education in the field of international education is premised on the dual hope that there exists in American society the intellectual talent and resources necessary to undertake a multitude of research and development tasks, and that this talent can be identified and diverse activities coordinated in a long-range cumulative attack upon major research and development problems in the area of international education. This matter of intellectual resources constitutes the fourth and final area of concern of the FPA study. This concern is summarized in the question: What intellectual resources are available for undertaking needed research and development work and how can these be effectively mobilized?

In this regard the FPA study seeks to do two things. First, the study develops a partial inventory of individuals, groups, and organizations involved in various aspects of international education. Second, the study explores ways in which the efforts of diverse groups, organizations, and individuals might be coordinated. Three major recommendations emerge from this effort.

1. It is recommended that the conversations between and among educators and social scientists which have been stimulated and facilitated by the FPA study be continued in a number of organizational formats.

2. It is recommended that a relatively small group of educators and social scientists be convened periodically for the purposes of reviewing recent curriculum development work in international education, for defining specific short range development needs, and for identifying potential sources of intellectual and financial resources needed to undertake specific tasks in the development and dissemination of new teaching-learning resources. Organizationally such a group should be linked to the continuing inventory of learning resources discussed above.

3. It is recommended that a continuing seminar of scholars in appropriate disciplines be established for the purposes of periodically reviewing and exchanging information about on-going research in the field of international education, and for identifying short range, specific research needs.

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15. See Chapter III.

16. See Appendix B for a list of authors and copies of their papers.

17. See Appendix C for a list of individuals consulted.

18. See Lee F. Anderson and James M. Becker, "Needed Research and Development in International Education," International Studies Association Quarterly, Fall, 1968. See also Appendix E for copy of article.

19. See Appendix F for list of conferences.

20. See Appendiees C and D for list of conferences and individuals consulted.

21. See Appendix M for copy of this issue of Social Education.

Chapter I

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37. See above for a discussion of this unit.

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11. Identical with the Interpersonal Role Transfer Model discussed by Hess and Torney (1967).

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APPENDIX A

PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
for Support through Authorization of the
Bureau of Research

Project Title: An Examination of Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools.

Initiator: James M. Becker, Director
School Services Program

Transmitted by: Samuel P. Hayes, President

Duration of Activity: 22 Months: September 1, 1966-June 30, 1968

Date Transmitted: May 20, 1966

ABSTRACT

Project Title:	An Examination of Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools.
Principal Investigator:	James M. Becker, Director, School Services Program Foreign Policy Association.
Co-Investigator:	Roger G. Mastrude, Vice President, Foreign Policy Association
Contracting Agency:	Foreign Policy Association
Beginning and Ending Dates:	22 Months: September 1, 1966 - June 30, 1968

Objectives: Through the improvement of international education in our elementary and secondary schools, to take steps toward building what Secretary Gardner has called "The bedrock of an educated, informed citizenry"; to the end that this nation's power and leadership in the world may be wisely used and democratically based. To contribute to this objective by:

First, preparing the way for curriculum improvement by a nationwide examination of objectives for international education (all aspects and disciplines bearing upon world understanding) in our schools, through grade twelve.

Second, bringing about a widespread examination and discussion of the implementing steps required to improve international education in our schools -- including the range of activities and facilities from new research required to improvements in study materials, in teacher education, etc.

Third, bringing together leaders in classroom teaching, education and educational psychology, the social sciences, history, geography, and other disciplines, in an effort to develop a broad consensus on major priorities for new work in this field -- and to encourage able persons to undertake some of the tasks indicated.

Fourth, laying the groundwork for a continuing examination of needs and problems, and for a continuing exchange of experience, over the years ahead.

Procedures: One year of consultations among classroom teachers, educational planners, and scholars in all disciplines concerned, making use of background papers prepared by outstanding persons as a springboard for discussion. Consultation is to be carried out through interview of individuals, through small interdisciplinary conferences, and through small meetings of scholars within particular disciplines. The final activity would be a national working conference of about one hundred productive persons in the fields concerned, to identify some major priority needs in the improvement of the teaching of international subject matter, and to produce recommendations for the widest possible circulation and discussion.

Expected contribution to education: Enlisting the efforts of talented persons in new research, experimentation and educational improvements in high school international education; providing a clearer framework of goals and purposes for the classroom teacher and curriculum planner; and facilitating orderly progress in the development of international education.

A. OBJECTIVES

Since President Johnson's speech at the Smithsonian Institution in September, 1965, national policy on education has expressed what Secretary Gardner has called "a new premise--the premise that international education at home and educational relations with other nations are permanent and important aspects of our national interest...". This was underscored by the President once again in his message on International Education and Health, when he stated that "The conduct of our foreign policy will advance no faster than the curriculum of our classrooms."

We face, in the generation ahead, a period of endemic international tensions, in which it will be crucial for our educational system to provide a solid understanding of world affairs. Our citizens will need to be patient in the face of provocations from abroad, tolerant of differences among free nations, and sophisticated in their evaluation of the panaceas which campaign oratory will certainly offer. In short, our educational system must seek to produce a remarkably mature and informed citizenry; our elementary and secondary schools will have to carry a main burden in doing so.

In a nation in which recent emphasis has been much more focused upon such fields as science and mathematics, this stress on the international education of our children is an important new concern. As yet implementation in our elementary and secondary schools has been spotty and painstakingly slow. The present proposal represents a step in clearing the ground for accelerating such progress.

International relations will undoubtedly be a central area of challenge for the U.S. during the rest of the Twentieth Century. There is little doubt that the next thirty-five years will be marked by a succession of new crises around the globe--most of them arising in the unsettled 'Third World' of the new nations, where most of the major crises of recent years have found their origin. Given nuclear proliferation, it is indeed likely that the risks will become greater than in the past. It also seems clear that as the gap in living standards widens between the U.S. and the developed Western countries on the ono hand, and the underdeveloped nations on the other, bitterness will inevitably increase.

The need for understanding on the part of this country's citizenry will be great, for in this respect "America too is a developing country. One of our areas of underdevelopment is our knowledge of other peoples and cultures, of their history and languages, of the processes of change and of economic and political growth. We must learn more about these matters--and more of us must learn about them--before we will be fully qualified to assume our end of the partnership."

The concerns of education will need to be broader than an understanding of governmental foreign policy, however, for the direct individual participation of Americans in various forms of contact with other peoples will also make demands. Exchange programs will increasingly take students and teachers abroad, as well as bring many thousands of persons from other lands into our communities each year. Foreign trade activities, and the foreign operations of U.S. business, will bring an increasing involvement--as do the now considerable overseas activities of the U.S. government, universities and private organizations. Finally, not only Peace Corps volunteers but members of this country's armed forces will continue to be posted to distant areas of the globe in the decades ahead. The scope and nature of our international involvements, in other words, will increasingly involve the citizen in crucial activities of international relations--rather than only the diplomat.[1] The attitudes, understanding, and behavior of large numbers of Americans are now a significant factor in the success or failure of our foreign relations.[2]

From the broader vantage point of the future of the world as a whole, it is also of tremendous importance whether the world's richest and most powerful nation educates its citizens to be aware of the problems of other areas and peoples. A failure by the U.S. public to understand the long-range usefulness of an aid program or the logic behind the behavior of a people with a radically different culture, for example, could be crucial not only to our security and welfare, but to the security and welfare of other nations as well.

"Our shortcomings of understanding and skills" Secretary Gardner has said in underscoring this point, "for international education must be corrected for another reason--a reason that is almost unique in the case of the United States. We are in a very special position, possessed of awesome power yet basing our whole national being on a democratic system. If that power is to be wisely used in the world, if our responsibilities are to be exercised with compassion, it will be because we have succeeded in building on the bedrock of an educated, informed citizenry. More than we could have imagined twenty years ago, we Americans must become a people attuned to the needs and problems of those from other traditions--and we must be aware of the cultural richness they give us. We must recognize ourselves as borrowers and learners, as well as lenders and teachers."[3]

While these things are sufficiently self-evident to have received strong support from the President and his cabinet, as well as from educators throughout the country, their implications for our schools need to be thought through in specific terms.

To state the central problem first, despite many imaginative efforts and some outstanding programs in international affairs education, there is considerable confusion and a pronounced lack of direction with respect to this area of study in the nation's schools. No general agreement has yet been reached as to what the students in our schools ought to learn in the international field.

The most complete collection of statements of curricular objectives for the international subject matter is found in the pages of the 1954 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, Approaches to an Understanding of World Affairs;[4] many of these are couched in sufficiently general terms to permit being stated in a few sentences. Various similar statements issued by various educational bodies share this characteristic of being very general.

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1. The importance of these efforts is demonstrated in:
    Frankel, Charles, The Neglected Aspects of Foreign Affairs, 1966 Brookings Institution.

2. Ford Foundation, "Context the World, 1966;" Education and World Affairs, "Intercultural Education," 1965.

3. Price, Roy A., "Needed Research in the Teaching of the Social Studies," National Council for the Social Studies, 1964, p. 96 ff.

4. National Council for the Social Studies, Yearbook, 1954, Approaches to an Understanding of World Affairs.

Nor is assistance forthcoming from those who have written on the subject of the teaching of world affairs at the college level. Such studies as those of Bidwell[1] and of the Wilsons,[2] for example, stress the importance of teaching for responsible U.S. citizenship and for civic competence in an age of swift change and frequent crisis, as well as stressing the inherent educational values of a liberal education whose content is cosmopolitan. While valuable in considering what ought to be the general outcomes of education, these writings are also too broad to offer a clear focus for curriculum-building.

There are, moreover, divergent views of objectives which have not been either faced or reconciled. Statements by Kenworthy and Laves,[3 & 4] among others, are plainly oriented primarily toward the well-being of the world as a whole, rather than the nation. Others, such as Kirk,[5] build on the premise that the focus must be that of learning to function intelligently "as a citizen of a great democracy". Educational planning will be quite different if it is based on supra-national premises, the needs of the national state, or some system which in one way or another reconciles these. Shall teaching be value-free and primarily analytical and factual in this international field, or shall it inculcate values thought to be essential to world peace? As Becker and Porter have pointed out, "The point here is that our motivations, our concerns, will largely determine the nature of the program or curriculum and the instructional materials used. If we are confused about our purpose or have ill-defined purposes, then the courses involved and their goals are also likely to be confused and lacking in direction. An analysis of curriculum guides, with respect to international understanding reveals in most instances a lack of focus or framework. Since the term "international understanding" is poorly defined, the programs themselves seldom contain clear criteria for selecting content and approaches."

The teacher and administrator in the local school system can scarcely be blamed if they find it difficult to trace a very clear path through so uncharted a field. Other difficulties they face include unresolved questions as to what subject-matter is most appropriate and at what grade level. How much place and emphasis should be given, for example, to teaching a cultural approach based upon the discipline of anthropology? How much to international economics? How much to international relations, based in political science, and how much to history and geography? At present, not even a tentative answer is available. In this circumstance, the outlook for a foreign policy which, in the president's words, "will advance no further than the curriculum of our classrooms", appears rather doubtful unless new initiatives are taken.

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1. Bidwell, Percy, Undergraduate Education in Foreign Affairs, 1963 King's Crown Press, New York.

   cf. Malkiel, Judith A. and Solomon, Robert J., "An Evaluation of the Foreign Affairs Knowledge of College Seniors", Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., November 1960.

2. Wilson, Howard and Florence, American Higher Education and World Affairs, American Council on Education, 1963, pp. 23-27.

3. Kenworthy, Leonard, "Developing World-Minded Teachers", NCSS Yearbook, 1954, p. 396 ff.

4. Laves, Walter H.C., "What Does the Citizen Need to Know About World Affairs," Social Education, October 1951, pp 275-278.

5. Kirk, Grayson, "Materials for the Study of International Relations," World Politics, April 1949.

Another central question is how much we know about the effectiveness of our present education programs--including new and experimental work. Again Professor Haefner's comment is a cogent one. "We have made little progress toward measuring the impact of curricular offerings and learning experiences on the students in terms of actual modification of behavior."[1] Mager points out that educational programs or units are seldom prepared in response to questions such as: "(1) What is it that we must teach?; (2) How will we know when we have taught it?; (3) What materials and procedures will work best to teach what we wish to teach?"[2] A review of periodic surveys of current educational research such as those provided by Social Education reveals little which bears directly upon the teaching of world affairs.

The lack of a base of research for the planning of international education is sharply indicated by the results of careful evaluation of two of the best efforts to teach world affairs in recent years: those of the Glens Falls program, and of McClelland at San Francisco State College. McClelland's carefully-planned course, taught by able faculty, produced no measurable gains over control groups;[3] and at Glens Falls, while there were some favorable findings with respect to "cognitive knowledge and understanding"; in two other sets of tests "neither test revealed a consistent pattern of superiority for one community over the other (i.e., as between experimental and control student groups) either before or after the period of instruction. The only significant gains occurred at grades 5 - 6."[4]

Although there is wide agreement as to the need for new materials to be used by students in studying world affairs--what kinds of materials will be effective, and what should be their subject matter? With exceptions such as the programs of The State Education Department in New York State, the experimental projects of the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education, experiments at Northwestern University and Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, innovations in teacher preparation are known to be extremely limited in the international field--but there is no clear consensus on the changes required or the new programs which should be given priority.[5 & 6] The same is true in other fields which affect the character and quality of our teaching of world affairs.

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1. Haefner, John H., "Developing International Understanding in the Secondary School," NCSS Yearbook, 1954, p. 346.

2. Mager, Robert F., Preparing Objectives for Programmed Instruction, p. VII, 1962

3. McClelland, Charles A., College Teaching of International Relations, 1962, Mimeographed, San Francisco State College.

4. Long, Harold M., and King, Robert N., "Improving the Teaching of World Affairs - The Glens Falls Story," Bulletin # 35, National Council for the Social Studies, 1964, p. 67.

   cf. A third study, made by Elly in New Zealand, reported success in its aim of bringing about certain attitude changes with respect to foreign peoples; Elly also finds, however, "just as significant is the finding that the conventional course and usual methods of teaching in the New Zealand social studies curriculum have no measurable effect on tolerance or international understanding, a professed aim of the course."

5. Garvey, Dale M., and Seiler, William H., "A Study of Effectiveness of Different Methods of Teaching International Relations to High School Students." Cooperative Research Project No. S-270, USOE, 1966.

6. "The Challenge of a Revolutionary World: Progress Report: 1965," The University of the State of New York/The State Education Department.

All in all, there is an urgent need to identify the problems in this field of education and to try to bring some focus to efforts toward improvement.

First, there is need for a well-organized effort to induce teachers and scholars to examine the problem of defining and refining objectives. Probably no set of objectives can or should become universally accepted. However, it is essential that those concerned with this field be drawn into a concerted and continuing effort to think out objectives and priorities; plainly, this is a task which must be worked at over the years, changing and improving with the state of our knowledge. While it cannot be guaranteed that a new effort will quickly produce order or consensus, careful attention can be given to defining objectives in terms which can be translated into learning--relating every objective as directly as possible to some action which can be taken, be it research, teaching or something else.

Secondly, there is obvious requirement for many kinds of research. Evidence is needed as to what instructional procedures are effective, what kinds of materials in what kinds of media can help break down the barriers to learning this abstract subject matter and at what ages various ingredients of subject matter can most usefully be introduced, to cite only a few examples. Real progress must be buttressed by research, and not just by the intelligent surmises of teachers--though these are also essential.

Thirdly, there is a need for the best possible practical efforts to improve what is now being done. Enough is known, for example, to make some useful improvements in teacher education in world affairs.[1] The present problem in this case seems to be primarily that international affairs is given so low a priority in the scheme of things that few prospective teachers receive any significant amount of preparation. There are unused resources at hand; universities have area studies programs, for example, of which schools of education make little or no use.

In areas affecting the curriculum, pilot or experimental programs will often be necessary, to pave the way for successful change. Again, many educators will find no great difficulty in indicating points at which change and experimentation are sorely needed; and if the best minds and experience are brought to bear, surely some useful experimental programs can be devised.

Fourthly, there is need for what it has become fashionable to call "dialogue," which must take place across disciplinary lines as well as across the line of separation between the secondary school and the world of university scholarship. Problems, and approaches to progress, must be identified and discussed; the results of various efforts must be compared, implications of new research assessed, and new stages of planning discussed in their turn.

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1. As is suggested by the experimental projects of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education. A current Study by Dr. Harold C. Taylor for the AACTE will examine the international component in teacher preparation, and should be extremely useful.

Finally, and above all, what is needed is the focused attention of as many gifted people as possible over the years ahead. The world will provide a suitably turbulent and challenging backdrop; it will be up to all those concerned with education to see that the dramatis personae are equal to the requirements of their parts.

B. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

The present proposal was prepared by the Foreign Policy Association in response to an invitation from the staff of the U.S. Office of Education, to take the lead in clearing the ground for a broad new attack on the problems of better international education within the schools of the United States. What is proposed is a broad, cooperative effort to survey and identify the country's best thinking with respect to goals, and tasks which need to be undertaken; and in the process, to engage the interest and participation of the many able educators and scholars whose efforts will be required if substantial progress is to be made in the international dimension of our curriculum.

In summary, the Foreign Policy Association proposes to do the following: (outlined in more detail in the pages which follow).

> First, to initiate a nationwide examination of objectives for the teaching of world affairs through grade 12.
>
> Second, to bring about a widespread examination and discussion of the implementing steps required to improve the international dimension in our schools -- including the entire range of activities concerned, from new research which is required, to teacher education, classroom study materials, and so on.
>
> Third, to bring together leaders in classroom teaching, education and educational psychology, the social sciences, history, geography, and other disciplines in an effort to develop a broad consensus on some major priorities for new effort in this field -- and to encourage able persons to undertake some of the tasks concerned.
>
> Finally, to compile a list of projects, programs, talents, and resources currently engaged in international education, and lay the groundwork for a continuing examination of needs and problems and exchange of experience over the years ahead.

Detailed Outline of Activities.

I. Preliminary steps.

It is a truism that intelligent curriculum development must take account of the needs and nature of the society and the world within which the learners must live and work. This is perhaps notably important in a time in which the world environment is changing with such fantastic speed that -- to cite an example -- growing population density will change the physical and social environment in the U.S. during the lives of today's school generation.

With this in mind, three leading scholars[1] will be asked to prepare papers which indicate in broad outline what we can now perceive of the world situation during the remaining years of the Twentieth Century; (and indeed, many of its most important elements, such as political instability in the underdeveloped countries, can now be foreseen). The writers will be asked to make their projections concrete enough so that educators can draw from them some guidance for planning.

Using these statements as a backdrop, two other scholars[2] (one in the field of international relations, and one a specialist in the problems of teaching social studies material) will be asked to prepare papers outlining what they believe students should learn about world affairs in the years through grade twelve. These papers, in turn, are intended to serve, not as an end product, but as a platform for the stimulation of a continuing discussion, in the course of which many and divergent ideas should be brought to bear.

It is then proposed that a small meeting of approximately ten persons who combine expertise in international studies with knowledge of the problems of learning and of the curriculum, will meet to give these draft papers their initial review, leading to revisions by the authors.

During this same initial period, project staff will make a search of literature with potential application to the teaching of world affairs, and make contact with the many social studies projects which deal directly or indirectly with this area and any such surveys as that being carried out by the National Council for the Social Studies which offer information on promising projects and methods currently to be found.[3]

It is estimated that these preliminary steps can be carried out in about two months, especially since some of the scholars concerned have already agreed to prepare needed papers.

2. Consultation and discussion.

With revised papers now in hand as a basis for the initiation of discussion, a variety of topics should be explored and considered from as many disciplinary and individual points of view as possible.

> First, to refine and add to the stock of ideas with respect to suggested objectives for education in the international field.
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> The initial papers will be refined, improved, and altered. To them will also need to be added appendices reflecting the concerns of persons in particular disciplines, as well as important and divergent individual views which should be made a part of the record for continuing thought and discussion.

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[1] Tentatively, an economist, a scientist, and a specialist in international relations. Dr. Robert C. North has agreed to write one of these; under consideration are Dr. Kenneth Boulding and Dr. Alvin Weinberg.

[2] Tentatively, Dr. Charles McClelland and Dr. John Haefner.

[3] For example, the Comparative Politics course being developed in Carnegie Institute of Technology's Project Social Studies.

Second, (a) to examine what tasks need to be undertaken in order to clarify questions of objectives (it must be assumed that many questions as to goals can be answered only after specific research has been carried out to that end);

(b) to identify tasks which need to be carried out, and improvements which need to be made, in order to make progress in the direction of objectives which have been suggested. (An important reason for examining implementation simultaneously with objectives, is that nothing so points up ambiguities as the effort to translate general purposes into practical steps.)

(c) The scope of this examination should include needs with respect to: research; experimental or pilot programs; testing; teacher education, teaching approaches and procedures; study materials; and curricular organization, together with the related question of the grade levels at which subject matter can most profitably be offered.

Every phase of the study should also include a scrutiny of barriers to innovation, and means for getting wider dissemination and use for promising new practices.

In attempting to spell out tasks ahead, account will need to be taken of the differences in needs of schools in middle-class urban or suburban areas, and schools in other milieux such as rural or core-city areas, schools serving disadvantaged groups, special regional situations, etc.

Because of past lack of definition in this field of teaching, it seems particularly important to provide teachers with a framework of theory, a translation into useable terms of the results of contemporary research, and a clear understanding of the special subject-matter contributions of the various disciplines concerned with international affairs. Only with such a background will able teachers find it possible to apply their professional skills to imaginative solutions for the problems of teaching this subject matter.

It is equally true that the scholars and specialists, left to their own devices, frequently fall far short of appreciating what is realistic and feasible in the classroom. With this in mind, the process of consultation has been planned in such a way as to bring repeated confrontations among classroom teachers and educational planners, and scholars in the various fields.

Procedures for Consultation

Several methods are proposed to implement the examination outlined in the paragraphs immediately above. These varying forms of consultation would be carried out in varying patterns and during the same period of about ten months.

Interdisciplinary discussion is provided for by three small conferences of twenty-five participants each (probably to be held in the Far West, Midwest and East to ensure an opportunity for persons in various regions to be heard).

Participants, as suggested above, will be classroom teachers, scholars in educational psychology and related fields concerned with teaching, and scholars from such fields as political science, economics, history, anthropology, geography, and so on. Each conference is to be of three days' duration; its purview would include the material outlined in Section 2 (immediately above).

Individual and small-group interviews are planned to provide an opportunity for in-depth solicitation of the ideas of as many thoughtful persons as feasible in the appropriate fields over a ten-month period. It seems reasonable to expect that in this process (as in the interdisciplinary conferences) a number of individuals will be found who have the professional talent and interest to carry out some of the new work which is required. To this end, attention will be given to identifying persons for interview who are thought by the best of their peers to be productive, as well as thoughtful or critical.

Intradisciplinary discussion is seen as taking the form of small informal gatherings of able persons in the same field who live in the same area -- a form of the small-group discussion referred to above. It is worth special mention, however, since it will doubtless be necessary and helpful at times to get the combined judgement of several scholars as to which of several contending ideas in their field seems to them most central.

For all three of the forms of discussion of tasks and objectives described, the set of papers described under A. above (Preliminary steps) will be circulated to those concerned in advance, and serve as the springboard for discussion.

Out of these consultations, the following written materials are expected to emerge:

(1) a report, outlining the recommendations which have been made, and the problems which have emerged, with respect to objectives in international education in our schools;

(2) a report listing and discussing briefly the ideas which have been proposed for measures to prepare the way for or implement improvement in the teaching of world affairs, as outlined in paragraph (c) on page 9 (research, teaching approaches, materials, testing, teacher preparation, etc);

(3) a report reflecting the thinking with respect to barriers to innovation, and ways of getting wider use of new ideas;

(4) a compendium of individual comments, suggestions and dissents, so that the entire spectrum of ideas may insofar as possible be reflected.

3. National Conference

It is proposed that a national conference be held in autumn, 1967, to include approximately one hundred persons from all fields concerned who have been identified as potentially valuable in the course of the consultations -- either because of their experience and critical acumen, or because they have themselves contributed useful ideas which point the way toward important future work in improving various aspects of the international dimension of the curriculum.

The conference would be of five days duration. Its participants would receive ahead of time the written materials listed above as outcomes of the consultation process. Also in preparation, the accumulated suggestions as to objectives and requirements in each area (teacher education, teaching approaches, etc.) would be put in the hands of a person expertly qualified to examine these suggestions and prepare a paper which (a) sums up what he regards as most important and valuable, and (b) offers his own synthesis, as a basis for discussion (along with the report material on the same subject matter, gathered during the consultation process).

The agenda for the national conference would be similar to that of the earlier consultations. Its purpose, however, is to give a critical review to all that has been discussed and proposed, to distill some of the elements of a national consensus out of the discussion which has taken place over the preceding year, and hopefully to stimulate individuals to identify and undertake tasks which they have been led to consider through this process.

The agenda for the conference would include:

1. Review of proposed objectives for international education through grade twelve, and of problems which require further study.

2. Discussion of priority tasks ahead in implementation of objectives.

3. Review of any current research which may assist in establishing a "baseline" in one way or another.[1]

4. Discussion of future steps to provide continuing machinery for consultation, planning, and exchange of experience and ideas among those engaged in research, experimentation and curriculum improvement.

C. RESULTS OF THE PROJECT

The project is an unusual one, in the sense that dissemination in various forms is a built-in ingredient throughout: the circulation of papers for comment and suggestion, the various arrangements for consulting with scholars throughout the country, the sampling of groups from within individual disciplines, and the final conference with its papers which point the way to new action.

A final report emerging from the conference will be intended for still wider circulation. Contact has already been established, and cooperation assured, from a number of the major national professional and disciplinary groups which relate to aspects of the work of international education. All these groups will be represented in the proposed study, and it is anticipated that through their own committees and

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1. For example, the Foreign Policy Association is carrying out preliminary work looking toward a study of student and teacher conceptualizations of international subject matter. Some early returns may be available, and would provide useful evidence as to the nature of the educational problem.

channels, they will go on to give wide distribution and discussion to the proposals offered and the questions raised. The National Council for the Social Studies, for example, offers channels for such discussion throughout the country, among teachers of this subject matter. Further, the papers prepared for the final conference, and sections of the final report, will provide excellent materials for educational journals; such use has already been discussed, and the channels are open.

In effect, the results of this project are clearly suggested by its activities. President Johnson, Secretary Gardner, and Assistant Secretary of State Frankel have indicated that the education of our citizens here at home about the contemporary world is a new priority in education. To many educators, it has long been a priority, even if one which has been given little support.

The outcome of the present project should be:

-- to bring the attention of persons of talent to the field of international education, and involve them in a focused national dialogue on how to improve this dimension in our curriculum;

-- to provide for teachers and administrators a better picture of objectives for their planning and teaching, and a clearer understanding of what needs to be done;

-- to identify many important matters which call for research, and bring these to the attention of scholars who are capable of carrying out that research;

-- to stimulate experimentation and change in educational practice;

-- to initiate an examination of this field, and an interdisciplinary [1] discussion of it, which can continue over the years ahead.

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[1] In the initial discussion of this proposal, initiated by the director of the Elementary and Secondary Branch of the Bureau of Research of the U.S. Office of Education, the suggestion was made that this activity should be given some permanent form, and that the proposal herewith submitted should reflect this.

The Foreign Policy Association is in principle prepared to try to develop machinery for this purpose after the national conference which is the last major step in the present project. It seems important, however, to solicit the thinking of leaders in the fields represented at the conference, before proceeding. Present thinking would suggest a very small continuing secretariat which would keep in touch with the field, plus an annual seminar for further exchange of experience and views as work progresses. Probably this should be a rather flexible mechanism, rather than a 'permanent alliance' among a given group of individuals and institutions.

IV PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES

Principal Investigator: James M. Becker, Director, School Services Program Foreign Policy Association and Director, Foreign Relations Project of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Formerly Assistant Professor of Social Science, Illinois State University. Critic teacher in social studies, University High School, Illinois State University. Instructor, Social Science and Political Science, Winona State College, Winona Minnesota. Member of: Board of Directors, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Executive Committee, International School of America; Advisory Committee, American Heritage Foundation, Civic Education Project; National Council for the Social Studies, Curriculum Committee; author of articles appearing in such professional publications as: Social Education, Educational Leadership, Bulletin of the National Association for Secondary School Principals, California Journal of Secondary Education, and The National School Boards Association Yearbook. Consultant in Social Studies, Portland, Oregon Public Schools 1962, Foreign Policy Association, 1964-65, Curriculum Consultant to schools in Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Born 1919. B.S. and M.A. University of Minnesota; Citizenship Education Fellow, Teachers College, Columbia University; summer fellowship, Northwestern University. Completed course work for doctor's degree. Mr. Becker will give one-third to one-half his time to this project during the period in which it is being carried out.

Co-Investigator: Roger G. Mastrude, Vice President, Foreign Policy Association. Since 1954, responsible for the design of new educational programs in foreign affairs, including: "Great Decisions," (1955) a multi-media program involving study-discussion based on study guides in coordination with television, daily newspapers, radio and library programs; now annually includes New York Times, several hundred daily newspapers served by UPI wire services, NET television series carried by educational stations, and Mutual Broadcasting Corp. radio series -- along with about 300,000 persons in classrooms or discussion groups; also designed the "American Leadership Seminars," a program to introduce selected adults to key world problems in a format which stresses active rather than passive learning situations; carried out, with Dr. Alfred O. Hero and Dr. Emil Starr, in 1964-65, a study of world-affairs attitudes in the United Auto Workers (unpublished, available on a confidential basis only). Also administratively responsible for the Foreign Policy Association's School Department. Formerly Western Regional Director, Foreign Policy Association; Director of Education, Race Relations Dept., Fisk University; and Director General, International Social Service. Born May 9, 1917. A.B., Cultural History, University of Puget Sound, Ph.D. Candidate Royal Hungarian University 1939, 1940 (terminated by World War II). Mr. Mastrude will give up to one-third of his time to this project during the period in which it is being carried out.

Staff Coordinator

(A full-time position. Two excellent, and highly-qualified men are presently available for this post. Neither can be engaged until or unless the project has been approved.)

Staff Assistant: H. Thomas Collins

For the past ten years, Mr. Collins served as Chairman of the Social Studies Department and a teacher at Orono Junior-Senior High School, located in the outer suburbs of Minneapolis -- teaching at various times during these ten years, grades seven through twelve and working with various curriculum committees. Participation in national social studies projects include experimental projects in world history for anthropology Curriculum Study Project of the American Anthropological Association; acting as high school consultant for the Asia Studies Curriculum Material Development Project at the University of California, Berkeley, and work on the film guide for the American Economy Film Series distributed by the Joint Council of Economic Education. In recent months, Mr. Collins has visited schools and social studies projects, working with teachers' groups, and serving as consultant on several publications related to teaching world affairs. Mr. Collins attended Macalester College in St. Paul; M.A. from the University of Minnesota. Mr. Collins is expected to give approximately 25% of his time to this project during the period in which it is being carried out.

Access to advisers and consultants in the various fields is provided by the Foreign Policy Association's contacts with such persons as those who serve in relation to another of the Association's secondary school projects. These are listed in Appendix A. Other substantive experts are available among the Board of Directors (Appendix D).

FACILITIES

The Foreign Policy Association is a national, non-profit educational corporation which has for nearly fifty years played a leading role in objective, non-partisan education in foreign affairs. It is in a position to enlist and work with leaders in education and specialists in international relations in making contributions to curriculum improvement, and to make the results known to cooperating school systems throughout the country through its publications, and through its field staff in the various regions of the U.S. (See Appendix C). Since dissemination is a goal, it should be noted that F.P.A. has substantial experience in the nationwide dissemination of educational ideas and materials. Finally, F.P.A. is presently the only national non-governmental, non-profit educational agency in the overall foreign affairs field which has as a main objective the improvement of, and the provision of services for, secondary-level instructional programs in world affairs. The Association's Board of Directors has recently acted to increase emphasis on this aspect of its work. For a list of Directors and other material, see Appendices C and D.

APPENDIX B

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SOME PROBLEMS IN IMPROVING INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

by

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Education can liberate or imprison. Much that is called international education is of the latter kind. Images of the world of the past and preoccupation with certain current events filter out much of the world of the present. This almost makes it impossible to think about the future. Several things stand out as causes of our inability to grapple effectively with international education.

First, our view of the world as a collection of nations prevents us from seeing it also as a collection of other kinds of things, some crisscrossing nations.

Second, the word "international" contributes to our analytic confusion. It is a giant trashcan in which some place everything that goes on outside their nation. The word "international" encompasses so much that it virtually means nothing at all.

Third, the inadequate sample of international activities and events on which we base our courses, and our research, provides only a partial view of the world.

Fourth, our mythology about the likely causes of greater world order, i.e., the way we talk about "rule of law" and "world government," reveals a tragic inability to apply available knowledge to significant international problems and inhibits effective planning for the future.

Fifth, because the United States is a big nation, and a super power, its citizens and educators have particular difficulty in seeing the total international system with perspective.

Much of what is taught about international relations is done in the context of United States foreign policy on certain issues of great concern to the United States. This gives students a view of the world as perceived from a nation--a very large one. A way must be found to put these issues in the context of the whole. This will require a curriculum that views the total system--not only from a vantage point outside of a specific nation but also from a vantage point outside the nation system itself.

Certain themes suggested by the above commentary will be described briefly in order to elicit further discussion: (1) Problems of change, (2) Problems of self-analysis, (3) The big nation syndrome, (4) The "nation" as an analytic blinder, (5) Inadequate models of world order, (6) Which agency can handle the problem? (7) A view of the world agenda.

Problems of Change

The world is undergoing rapid change. How we study the world also is changing rapidly. This sets the basic context for thinking about the international education of children and adolescents.

Many of us are tired of hearing cliches about change. We are familiar with population curves that reveal that world population has risen from 0.5 billion in 1650 to 2.5 billion in 1950, a five-fold increase in three hundred years. It no longer seems startling to be told that this 2.5 billion will double before 1990. We are familiar with similar curves for speeds in intercontinental travel, rising from 25 to 1,000 miles an hour in less than a century. Also familiar is the steep curve showing the destructiveness of weapons. But familiarity with a few statistics on change is one thing and adequate response is quite another. International education curriculum has not yet adequately taken into account the potential consequences for the United States and for the nation system itself, of dramatic changes in population, transportation, and the destructive power of weapons.

In international relations we have exhibited often a tendency to take change into account only up to the present time, and to assume implicitly that the world will continue without further change. Our adaptation to the bipolar world is an example of such behavior. Taking into account the rapid changes in international relations that followed World War II, many writers, often implicitly rather than explicitly, tended to assume that this pattern would prevail--if not forever, at least for a long time. While focusing on the Cold War aspects of a bipolar world, often we have been unable to perceive fundamental changes taking place elsewhere, particularly in the new nations. As we approach the end of a century, there seem to be a number of efforts to make predictions for the next thirty-two years. This may be a sign that we are now developing the capacity to handle future change as well as that of the past. All international curricula should include discussion and prediction of the future.

The simultaneous occurrence of the twentieth century revolution in social science compounds the difficulty of curriculum development in international education. This includes not only radical change in methods of data collection and analysis but application of theory across fields formerly isolated from each other--for example, application of the same integration theory to both metropolitan and international politics. Thus customary divisions of knowledge are being rejected, with important consequences for curriculum planning.

It will become increasingly difficult to plan an international education curriculum separately from other curricula. It is now not uncommon to hear discussions of violence that include both domestic and international phenomena. In discussion of problems created by the division of societies into the rich and the poor there are increasing references to both national and international examples. Furthermore, rigorous analysis is causing us to define more precisely our terms, including terms such as nation, which we apply customarily to such divergent entities as the United States, the Congo, and Malta. Developing theory and precision in definition may produce, therefore, divisions of knowledge that cut across our customary international relations category.

Continuing change in both the world we study and in the way we study it are important considerations for curriculum planning in international education. Not only must international change be a key concern in the curriculum, the curriculum itself must have a built-in capacity to change. A curriculum that might be regarded as perfect today may be a distinct liability tomorrow without built-in provisions for taking into account changes in the world, changes in analytic techniques, and the development or refinement of theory.

Problems of "Self-Analysis"

National loyalty is not the only kind of loyalty to inhibit realistic analysis of social issues but its effect may be the greatest. The strong moral tone of United States foreign policy objectives appears to generate an extreme self-righteousness that inhibits detached evaluation of United States performance by its citizens. This phenomenon is quite evident, for example, in attitudes of citizens--and many officials --toward U.S. performance in the United Nations. U.S. policy statements, opinion polls, etc., reveal that the United States supports the UN with great moral fervor. But United States performance tends not to be carefully measured against this standard. It is generally assured that the U.S. lives up to these moral principles. Different standards are applied in evaluating U.N. statements by "us" than are applied in evaluating statements by "them." For example, speeches by "them" are often treated as "nothing but propaganda," while speeches by "us" tend not to be labelled in this way. "We" may be different but students tend not to be encouraged to take an analytic posture that will enable them to find out for sure.

While teachers develop more explicit and effective techniques enabling students to make detached analysis of international relations situations in which the United States is involved, they need not destroy nationalism and loyalty to country. As a child learns that his parents are fallible, he does not love them less. The student would learn a new role, that of detached observer and analyst, consciously separate from the role of loyal citizen. One very useful beginning technique for encouraging an analytic posture is to abolish use of the pronoun "we," in the classroom, when reference is being made to a nation or groups of nations. Students should be assigned tasks of policy evaluation according to certain prescribed standards either chosen by them or assigned.

The Big Nation Syndrome

Self-analysis may be more difficult in a giant nation, where most citizens are distant from any border, use only one language, and where most citizens get virtually all of their information from media produced by their nation. Considering what is to be found on the newsstands of many European cities, the differences between the Chicago Sun Times and the Chicago Tribune seem insignificant. Most American organizations are so big and consume so much energy in coordinating and running themselves that they have little time or energy to devote to foreign counterparts. In smaller nations more citizens are near a neighboring country and less satisfied with and dependent upon national media. National organizations are less able to serve fully the activity and information sought by members.

It is necessary that teachers make students self-conscious of the constraints that life in a big nation places upon information from abroad and opportunity for foreign experience. This should include efforts to provide sensitivity to the perception of big nations by small nations. For example, United States citizens are very concerned about the fact that they have only one vote in the United Nations, although they provide forty per cent of its income and are a superpower. But it is important for Americans to understand the feeling of powerlessness to shape events that citizens of small powers have and their feeling that their nation often must cast its vote the way a superpower dictates. In addition it is necessary for citizens of big powers to be sensitive to differing standards for measuring contributions to international enterprises. For example, although most Americans are disturbed that their nation--only one of over 120 nations in the United Nations--contributes forty per cent of the budgets of the United Nations family, most do not know that the U. S. ranks twentieth in per capita contributions to the United Nations.

The "Nation" as an Analytic Blinder

The maps with national boundaries from which we initially learn about the world generate assumptions about human behavior from which it is difficult to free ourselves--both in thinking about actual and potential patterns of global behavior. There are maps of linguistic groups, occupational maps, physical maps, etc., but none shapes our view of the world so much as the political map. Our view of the importance of nations also is affected by the way in which various actors use national symbols. For example, in hundreds of agencies around the world individuals are speaking with signs in front of them saying "United States." Although they represent different agencies of government, and even though they often contradict each other, we tend to treat them as though they were all one person.

Arnold Wolfers points effectively, however, to phenomena overlooked by this perspective:

> Some democratic states have exhibited such pluralistic tendencies that they offer to the world a picture of near-anarchy. They seem to speak to the world with many and conflicting voices and to act as if one hand--agency or faction--does not know what the other hand is doing . . . . /In/ some . . . new states . . . integration is so poor that other states must deal with parts, rather than with a fictitious whole, if diplomacy is to be effective.[1]

Wolfers' observations raise serious questions about our tendency to treat nations as single actors. For example, on the basis of whatever definition of "major" we might choose, does it make any difference how many major individual actors nation "X" has in the system at one time? Does it make any difference where they are located and to what kinds of issues they are assigned? Would other nations be more effective if they deal with the United States as one actor or would they be more effective if they relate to the United States as a number of actors? To what extent was a United States revealed in the events of the U-2 affair? When the officials of a nation involved in international relations are numbered in the thousands and sometimes tens of thousands, and are in all parts of the globe, coordination of their activity into something resembling that of a single actor may be a goal but it is only partially realized. The difference between the goal and degree of achievement may be a significant factor in international relations.

The political map also may influence our lack of attention to non-territorial groups and organizations that cut across national boundaries. For example, why have we neglected to include international business corporations in our international studies? Some have more influence on international relations than many international organizations and nations about which we require our students to learn. Some have annual budgets that surpass the total budgets of all intergovernmental and non-governmental international organizations, and also surpass the budgets of many nations. Corporations, such as Shell, Nestle, Coca Cola, and IBM are encountered around the world. Some international corporations have activities in and officials from so many nations that it is difficult to assign them a single nationality.

Inadequate Models of World Order

When people think about the desirability of peace in the international system they tend to base their thinking on analogies from experience in their own nations. If they live in a reasonably peaceful nation with a strong central government, such as the United States, they tend to believe that it is the government that is responsible for peace. Therefore, they believe that we cannot have world peace without world government, and they also tend to believe that this government ought to look something like their own government. But this line of reasoning overlooks the possibility that national governments are as much a result of already existing peaceful conditions as a cause of such conditions. It also doesn't take into account the likelihood that world government would develop out of the melding of a variety of governmental patterns and international conditions rather than follow the customs of any one nation. Furthermore, the assumption that a world government is necessary for world peace neglects the fact that many nations have had peaceful relations, in the present as well as in the past, without central governmental institutions.

Whatever central institutions might be deemed necessary to achieve a desired kind of international community, there are indications that researchers and prophets should be paying more attention to international nongovernmental and business organizations. Recent research on developing nations has tended to emphasize the importance of social organization outside of central governmental institutions to the viability of these institutions. For example, in The Politics of the Developing Areas, Almond and Coleman[2] stress the importance of the development of nongovernmental groups through which the disparate interests in a society can be "articulated" and through which various interests can be "aggregated" into meaningful pressures on governmental institutions. Without such organization, often through pressure groups and political parties, a political process does not develop linking individual wants to governmental decision making. Without such a political process, in which nongovernmental groups are crucial, even the most perfect governmental institutions may not be able to perform a vital role in a society.

It is reasonable to think of nongovernmental international organizations as having the potential for fulfilling the same function in the international system. Indeed, Haas has drawn attention to the way in which trade associations and trade unions in Europe have organized across national lines in Europe in order to lobby for their interests in the European Economic Community.[3] For example, the steel producers throughout the Community have organized in order to lobby in the EEC institutions against some of the pleas of a similar organization developed by steel workers. In this way controversy over certain economic issues is transformed from conflict between nations to conflict between international groups. The EEC institutions become more vital as they become the arena in which such disputes are waged and sometimes resolved.

Which Agency Can Handle the Problem?

A key problem in local, national, and international politics is deciding which agency can best handle a problem. Sometimes an agency is given a task without adequate thought about the appropriateness of the task for the agency. An example would be the attempt by the Department of Defense to sponsor the foreign research of Project Camelot. Some think that national military establishments, particularly their nuclear arsenals, such as those built by the United States and the Soviet Union, do not serve their intended goal--peace--as well as other kinds of military forces or entirely different kinds of institutions.

Students can see near their homes how agencies once adequate for certain jobs are no longer effective. This is particularly obvious in metropolitan areas where separate communities must band together, creating new agencies for handling police, transportation, sewage disposal, etc. Those who live on the Canadian border may be aware of the numerous agencies that perform functions that cut across the U.S.-Canadian border, and may become sensitive to the limitations of strictly national institutions for handling some problems. But most of us tend to accept the performance of functions by the nation without ever pondering whether international agencies might perform them more effectively. Although it is often asserted that international organizations can implement more effectively technical assistance programs, they are still minute compared to bilateral programs. The slight use of international agencies is reflected in the total annual budgets of the United Nations and all the specialized agencies: $580,000,000. This is less than the budget of many United States corporations and is, indeed, small when compared to the U. S. annual budget for Vietnam: $30,000,000,000.

If policy makers are to have the flexibility they need in assigning problems to international agencies and in creating new agencies when needed, it will be necessary for international education to encourage future citizens and future policy makers to focus more on problems and less on institutions. It is our present tendency to teach how certain institutions--community government, national government, the United Nations, etc.--handle already assigned functions. Curriculum could be organized around problems in such a way that it highlights more effectively the shortcomings of institutions and, most importantly, emphasizes problems for which no effective decisional unit exists. This might enable students to develop habits of problem allocation that are based less on emotional loyalties--such as loyalties to city and nation--and more on the basis of criteria dictated by effective problem solving.

A View of the World Agenda

In planning international education for the coming decades the United States can gain valuable experience by assessing the failure of education during the past several decades to prepare its citizens for the problems of social change the United States is facing today. Why do so many Americans think the answer to violence in Watts, Detroit, Chicago, and Newark is better police? Why do they look to military power to solve problems in Vietnam? Why do they look upon the United Nations primarily as a peacekeeping agency? Do they realize that the citizens of most nations are more anxious about what the United Nations can do to give them better food, shelter, and clothing than they are about the improvement of UN peacekeeping forces?

Part of the difficulty in handling both domestic and international violence is our inflated notion of the capability of military and police forces to produce order. This has been discussed already above. But another part of the difficulty is caused by the limited knowledge that policy-makers and citizens have of the total agenda of problems of national and international societies. Even the white liberals most sensitive to the problems of the blacks are only beginning to appreciate fully the full impact of segregation on the blacks in terms of deprivation of education, jobs, equal justice, etc. Many Americans still believe that corrective action is simply rewarding the undeserving and lazy. They look in the same way upon pleas on the part of the deprived nations in international assemblies.

It is vital that international education place the things most wanted by the United States from its international activities--mainly peace and stability--in the context of the wants of all mankind. What is the composite agenda of items that people around the world believe ought to be handled by some kind of international activity or international agency? The varying hierarchies of priority around the world ought to be portrayed vividly. How well are agencies such as the United Nations doing in regard to these felt needs? Why are they doing so very little? Will lack of achievement internationally, which seems to be paralleling past lack of achievement nationally, bring results similar to Watts?

The Future

It is regrettable that most teaching uses outmoded analytic tools in analyzing data about the past while trying to teach students things they will not apply until some time in the future. In-service training for teachers and more frequent curriculum revisions--revising graduate and undergraduate, secondary and primary levels at the same time--are helping to keep up with changes that used to take twenty years to trickle down from graduate school to primary school. But we still have done little to give social science education the future orientation that enables students to anticipate problems and to realize that policy advocacy must always take future change into account.

Each course and each textbook ought to include sections on the future, including specific predictions. Subsequent courses and textbooks should then analyze these predictions, in order to learn the causes of error. Predictions should include descriptions of expected technological change and changes to be expected in human behavior, such as travel, communication, use of leisure, etc. These changes should be examined in terms of the agenda of problems they will produce and the problem-solving institutions that will be required to handle these problems.

Students might be encouraged to design alternative international institutions to handle problems that they anticipate will be important on future agendas, such as pollution of the seas, militarization of the seabed, and wars over claims to the resources on the seabed. These could be designed in problem papers or in simulations. This might prevent images of the problems and institutions of today, and yesterday, from imprisoning the minds of those whom we are trying to prepare to anticipate the problems of the future and to design institutions to solve them.

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EDUCATION FOR THE SPACESHIP EARTH

by

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The "noosphere" as Teilard de Chardin calls it is far and away the most important aspect of the world social system. This is the sphere of cognitive structures or images as they exist in the minds of men or even in non-human structures. A central purpose of the "knowledge industry" as Fritz Machlup calls it is to transmit the noosphere from one generation to the next as well as to expand it and make it correspond more and more with "reality", whatever that is. It is a slightly terrifying thought that all human knowledge is lost approximately every generation by the processes of aging and death and it has to be replaced in new bodies. If this process of transmission were interrupted even for thirty years the human race would revert probably to its paleolithic condition or might even become extinct.

Formal education, that is, the process which goes on in schools, colleges, universities and other "firms" of the knowledge industry is only part of the total knowledge industry and only part of this great process of transmission. As the human being grows from birth to adulthood he learns a great deal from the simple observation of the world around him through his senses. He learns a great deal also from his peers and in his family, mostly from oral communication and in these days he learns a great deal from the television and the radio. Once he has been taught to read, mainly by the agencies of formal education, he can learn a great deal by reading outside the processes of schooling. Nevertheless, the noosphere of the modern world is so large and so complex that it requires a large formal educational establishment to transmit it. This establishment furthermore grows larger all the time and absorbs an ever increasing proportion of the gross national product, partly because as knowledge grows continuously more effort is required just to transmit it from one generation to the next, partly because education being a technologically unprogressive industry the price of education continually rises relative to other commodities.

The noosphere consists not merely of images of the world of objects; it also contains images of values, both those of personal preferences which we call tastes and those preferences which we feel apply beyond ourselves to other people and which we call ethical systems. Ethical systems, that is, shared values and preferences, are an essential part of community. A culture or a subculture can be defined as a group of people holding certain value systems in common and a community is simply the organizational expression of a culture. A vital part of the transmission process, therefore, is "socialization", that is, the feeding of inputs into the growing child, largely of information and symbolism, which will turn him into a member of the community into which he grows. It is this process which turns Chinese children into Chinese and American children into Americans. In this process formal education plays a role at least as important as that of the family and the peer group. Thus as the church transmits a religious culture from its present adult members to their children, so the public school system of all countries is a kind of "church" of the national state, socializing the child into becoming a citizen of a particular country in which he grows up.

Herein lies one of the great dilemmas of the world today and especially the dilemma of international education. Because of what has happened in the field of technology, especially of transportation and weaponry, in the past few decades, the world has become a "spaceship", a small rather crowded globe hurtling through space to an unknown destination and bearing on its surface a very fragile freight of mankind and the noosphere which inhabits men's minds. This represents a very fundamental change in the condition of man, a change which furthermore only a few people have really appreciated. Up till very recently the human race was expanding on what was for all practical purposes an illimitable plane. It may have been "a darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night" as Matthew Arnold called it, but it was for all practical purposes an illimitable, if rough, plane. As long as there was always somewhere to go over the horizon, neither ignorance nor armies nor clashes could be fatal. If one civilization collapses another one could always rise a few hundred miles away. All history in other words until very recently has been local and has not involved the concept of the "sociosphere" or the total sphere of all human activity extending all round the earth. It is now almost a cliche to say that the world has become one and it has become small. The real implications of this, however, are very far from having been realized. The kind of organization, ethic, and conduct which may be quite appropriate to a great plane are quite inappropriate for the crowded and precarious conditions of a spaceship. The great problem of this generation is precisely to provide a symbol, an ethical code, and an organizational structure which is appropriate to this extraordinary transformation in the real condition of mankind.

Here the system of formal education finds itself caught in a very painful dilemma. On the one hand, it is formal education, especially at the level of the university, which has mainly created the spaceship and destroyed the great plane. Science, it is true, originated and developed largely outside of the structure of the formal university. Nevertheless, today it is the university which is the principal agent of transmission and expansion of the body of scientific knowledge and it is this body of knowledge which has created the jet plane and the nuclear weapon. It is not surprising therefore to find an increasing tension between the university as a community and the rest of society which supports it, simply because the university is the representative of what I have elsewhere called the "superculture" and is primarily engaged both in expanding the superculture and transmitting it to the next generation. In many respects however this superculture is in sharp conflict with the ideals and the images of the folk culture or the local culture around it which still retains the attitudes and the images which are appropriate to the great plane. The worldwide student unrest is perhaps only one symptom of a larger conflict between the whole university community and the local societies in which it is everywhere embedded, whether these are Communist or capitalist, traditional or modern, for even the most modern of societies contain very large elements of the folk and local culture out of which the superculture has grown.

On the whole this conflict between the superculture and the local cultures is mainly present in the universities and has not yet penetrated very far down into the high school and the grade school. Nevertheless, in so far as the universities produce the teachers in primary and secondary schools or at least produce the teachers of these teachers, the tensions between the whole educational industry and the society around it may be expected to grow at least for one more generation.

International education is all too likely to be the focal point of this conflict. On the Great Plane we can play cowboys and Indians and it is even appropriate to develop local societies, or nations, which build their identity largely around contrast with the opposition to the neighboring nations around them. The appropriate value system and image of the world under these circumstances is highly ethnocentric, looking at the world in sharp perspective from the capital city of the nation and developing a value system in which the nation is highly sacred, demands and receives sacrifices of human life as well as liberty and treasure and finds its highest expression of community in war. It is not surprising, therefore, that in primary and secondary schools everywhere national anthems are sung, pledges to flags are repeated, and the portrait of the reigning ruler or president is frequently displayed prominently. Furthermore, the curriculum is designed to glorify the national state, geography is taught in a perspective manner with the home country prominently studied and displayed, the national boundaries are firmly printed into the consciousness, and foreign countries are treated as distant and reduced in size. In history and social studies likewise a perspective view is stressed with the history of the home country glorified and the histories of other countries neglected. National school systems indeed are not above a good deal of falsification of history in the interest of creating good citizens. In the study of literature likewise the native language, except in colonial countries and regions, receives prime attention and other languages and literatures are regarded as "foreign." Only science in the curriculum can be regarded as a universal element. Even here the achievements of native scientists may be prominently displayed and the foreign scientists underplayed.

Any attempt to introduce what might be called a spaceship-earth education, therefore, will be regarded with extreme suspicion. Wherever the curriculum of formal education impinges on images of the world which the local culture around it treasures, sensitive areas are set up which are avoided as far as possible. Religion, race, and nationalism, as has already been noted, are among these areas and the study of the international system almost inevitably impinges on all of them. It is not surprising therefore that international education tends to follow the innocuous patterns of interesting stories about strange children and any attempt to teach the international system as a total system might easily run into very serious criticism for the defenders of the local culture. This is precisely because what might be called international systems education, to distinguish it from the more innocuous brands, deliberately sets out to destroy the illusions of perspective and to point out the things at a distance are not really small, still less are they unimportant. We can still, however, concede a great deal of realism in the proposition that the near are dear. Moral perspectives of this kind are not only realistic but are not incompatible with the systems point of view.

Those engaged in formal education, therefore, are always walking an uneasy tightrope. On the one hand, it is easy for them to violate the sensibilities of the older generation, especially those in the folk culture, who after all largely pay their salaries. On the other hand, the educator who does not "tell it like it is" is in great danger of being found out, if the image of the world which he is propagating to his students does not correspond to what they are going to discover in their subsequent life experience. If a student finds that teachers have deceived him and have taught him things that are not so, the whole sacredness, prestige and legitimacy of the teaching profession is threatened. My own case is an example. My formal education was heavily weighted with messages designed to turn me into a good little Englishman. In adolescence I read H. G. Well's Outline of History which persuaded me that my teachers, especially my history teachers, were liars, and largely I think as a result of this I eventually became an American. If our children find out that their teachers were liars, or at least superstitious and gravely in error, the consequences to the whole socialization process and the very fabric of society itself could be disastrous. Some of the current revolt of youth, especially of students, may very well be related to the fact that the pablum which they get in primary and secondary schools is so unrelated to the realities of the world today that it produces vomit rather than nourishment.

The critical question of international education, therefore, is whether we can develop an image of the world system which is at the same time realistic and also not so threatening to the folk cultures within which the school systems are embedded, so that they will revolt and seek to divert formal education once again into traditional channels, as for instance in the famous anti-evolution laws of Tennessee and Arkansas or even some so-called "economic education." A possible approach to this problem is to take advantage of the new image of the world which is a consequence of the exploration of space in which for instance the act of viewing the earth from the moon clearly reveals it as a ball floating in space and makes very clear the closed nature of the sphere. Under these circumstances the facts are so clear that it should not be too difficult to organize a whole curriculum around the concept of the earth as a total system, including of course a certain amount of astronomy to put earth in its setting in the solar system, the galaxy and the universe. The inputs of the earth from anything outside it except the sun are so minute - in terms of energy, though not in terms of information - that from the point of view of earth as a system we can virtually neglect them. We could continue them with geomorphology and the study of the lithosphere, the hydrosphere, and the atmosphere as total systems, always constantly moving towards an equilibrium which is equally constantly disturbed. Then of course we go on to the biosphere, which should be taught mainly from the point of view of world ecology stressing its interdependence with the other spheres but stressing also the concept of the ecosystem on both the micro and the macro scale. The time dimension would constantly be introduced to give an evolutionary perspective both in the study of inorganic and organic forms, so that the student is introduced to the concept of development in biological evolution. From this it should be an easy transition to the sociosphere and to human history and to geography beginning with the geography of the paleolithic and pre-human hominoids, going on to the neolithic and then to shifting and expanding patterns of civilization. The problem of time perspective is particularly difficult here. The near is interesting as well as the dear, and what is near in time and space is of more interest to us than what is distant. Nevertheless, there must be some kind of uneasy compromise between the anti-perspective view which regards the present moment and the present location of the student as a very small sample of an enormous totality stretching through time and space and the perspective view which frankly asks the student to look back into time, forward into the future, and out into space from where he is at the moment. It was one of the real strengths of progressive education that it could capture the interest of the student by starting from where he was. On the other hand, if the education process leaves the student there, it will have failed in its essential function which is precisely to destroy the illusion of perspective and to enable the student to step outside of himself and see himself as a point - or rather something like a four-dimensional worm - in the enormous space-time continuum of the universe. Hardly any problem relating to education is trickier than this.

When we come down to the study of the international system proper as a segment of the total sociosphere the dilemma of perspective becomes even more agonizing. From the anti-perspective point of view the international system is seen as a total globular system of some hundred and twenty-five national states, a variety of dependencies, a cluster of international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, plus the international corporations and so on. A great deal of what is ordinarily taught in the history books is the history of the international system or at least of a segment of it. It has been only within the last four hundred years that the system has become truly global in its extent. It is only in the last generation it has become a real "spaceship system" in which unilateral national defense is breaking down, in which war is becoming increasingly intolerable and dangerous, and in which the international system itself because of its inherent stability is tending to gobble up an increasing proportion of world resources and income - resources which in the present critical stage of human development can very ill be spared.

One of the great problems of international education, whether at the adult or at the school level is the absence of any clear image of the dynamics of the international system and particularly of any dynamic processes which would lead towards an alternative system which is superior to what we have now. It is very hard to teach what we do not know and the awful truth is that we do not know very much about the international system. The theory about it is very inadequate, the information system from which we derive our images of it has a built-in design for corruption, and on the whole the decision-makers in the international system are dominated by what might be called "folk images" approximately at the level of the flat earth. A very important element in the subconscious attitude towards the teaching of the international system is a widespread fear that the international system must move towards world government and the destruction of existing national sovereignties. There is indeed a fair amount of propaganda to this effect by the World Federalists and like-minded people. This is related to the often largely subconscious fear that any discussion of religion will lead to the loss of faith or any discussion of economics will lead to socialism or any discussion of race will lead to racial mixtures. All these fears are deeply ingrained in the folk cultures of this country and furthermore they cannot simply be dismissed as irrational, although they all have strong irrational elements in them. It is very important therefore for the teachers and researchers in the international system to have an image of the future which does not necessarily involve either total catastrophe, or a reversal of the developmental process, or the destruction of existing national states and their absorption into a universal world culture and polity. Just as we are beginning to see domestically that the more complex a society, the more pluralistic it can afford to be, so we ought to be able to see in the international system that a system is possible which both preserves the national state and is capable of stable peace. The critical question is what are the dynamic processes by which this happy state is achieved? Up to now the body of what might be called received knowledge in the international system has not really faced up to these problems, though the work of writers like John Burton in England and myself in this country suggests that solutions to the problem of war are possible short of world government and not inconsistent with the preservation of local and national cultures and organizations. If this view could become widespread, even as a kind of orthodox synthesis between the views of the status quo "realists" who think the present international system can survive, which I think is an illusion, and the world government advocates whose solution is much too radical and frightening to receive much acceptance, we might finally have something to teach which would be acceptable, both to the scholars and to the lay public. Here again we must stress the tremendous interconnection between teaching and research because again we cannot teach what we do not know.

It is shocking that there is no word for the science of international systems. One would like to suggest Xenoology on the grounds that the international system arises precisely because some people regard other people as "foreign." This would be indeed the science of generalized foreign affairs. Perhaps there is not enough yet to teach. Nevertheless, I am not so optimistic enough to think that in the last generation at least we have developed both a body of theory and the beginnings at least of a systematic collection of information which make such a science conceivable.

This raises the question, however, when we have something to teach, who will teach the teachers? This perhaps is a one-generation lag which we can very ill afford. The "new economics" of the 1930's is only now beginning to penetrate the secondary schools. The new international politics or Xenoology would have an even thornier path to tread before it got anything like general acceptance. It may well be, therefore, that we do need to think in terms of the total program and of how the student and the teacher may be prepared to accept a total curriculum based on the spaceship earth. Here the preparation of learning materials may be as important as the preparation of teachers themselves. Every child should certainly have a globe and there must be ways of making him brood over it with the ambition of reaching some sort of geographical closure; that is, knowing roughly at least where everything is. One would like indeed to see the principle of the spelling bee applied to simple geography so that it becomes as it were a kind of sport to know who everybody's neighbors are. The desire for closure, for knowing everything about something, that produces for instance the spelling bee and the passion that many twelve-year olds have for knowing the averages of all baseball players throughout history is something that we have inadequately exploited in our educational motivations; geography of course could be a beautiful case of it, simply because the map of the world is now virtually complete. History is more difficult because of the added dimension. Nevertheless, a fairly substantial investment in good historical atlases would go a long way towards correcting the fallacies of perspective especially if these too were printed on globes. What I would like indeed would be a globe for every year of human history printed so that it could be explored with a microscope, so that the student for instance who wanted to know the history of shall we say Northern Italy in 1316 would simply go to the corresponding globe and examine Northern Italy with a microscope and find the history printed there. One could do a great deal also with movies that zoom from outer space to show the setting of any particular event. Devices like these might encourage a learning process both in teachers and students which would be very far reaching. In a way the computer may have done us a disservice by diverting our attention from these simpler and more static devices because of the intoxication with the manipulation of numerical data. This too has its place, however, and the development of games and simulation should not be neglected.

It could well be that the next fulcrum from which the earth might be moved will be the teachers colleges and the universities which have grown out of them but which still specialize in the training of teachers. A program in the international system for the teachers of teachers would have a multiplier effect and could bring about quite rapid change.

Finally of course there is the good old book, still the backbone of education of all kinds, in spite of audiovisual and computational aids. Here the need is for a pioneering book which will attempt to convey especially to the high school student the sense of excitement, the sense of wide new horizons and the sense of world reconstruction which is going on now among the students of the international system. Whether a book like this can be commissioned I do not know. It might be worth a try or we may just have to wait for it. The need for a book of this kind is so great, however, that one can hardly believe that the supply will not be forthcoming.

We cannot predict exactly what form the book - or books - is going to take. We can, however, visualize several characteristics. It will involve essentially an image of the international system which includes a developmental dynamic just as the image of the economic system now includes a notion of economic development. The great advantage economists have is that in measures like real income per head we have a single scalar measure which at least gives us a good clue as to whether we are going up or down. In the international system it is often very difficult to tell whether we are going up or down. A measure of the "tone" of the international system as a whole derived perhaps from the content analysis of public utterances would carry us a long way towards the image of a developmental dynamic. A developmental dynamic in the international system, however, implies that we know at least vaguely where we want to go. Here, as I have suggested earlier, a dynamic which moves in the direction of stable peace among relatively independent nations seems to be much preferable in the present state of affairs than a dynamic which moves toward a world state, even less a world empire. The fact that we have already established stable peace in segments of the international system, for instance, in North America and in Scandinavia, suggests that a dynamic process which leads towards stable peace among independent nations already exists. At the moment, however, we are not self-conscious about this and we do not direct our teaching of the international system in this direction. In North America, for instance, I have been arguing that we got stable peace as a result of a succession of lucky accidents. For instance, the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, the settlement of the 49th parallel (No 54-40 and not fight), the British non-intervention in the Civil War, and so on. History is not taught, however, emphasizing these turning points or, as I have sometimes called them, hurdles. I have attempted to develop a theory of the dynamics of stable peace along the lines that it is something like a hurdles race; if the doves win three times we are "in", but that if they lose any one time, we have to go back to the beginning and start over again with a threat-counterthreat system. Up to now, therefore, stable peace has developed largely as a result of lucky accidents. If, however, we can get a self-conscious notion of the process and direct our teaching accordingly, we could produce national policies aimed at increasing the probabilities of stable peace. At the moment we do not really have such policies. We still regard peace and war as "political meteorology," just as we used to regard depressions as economic meteorology. I remember indeed when the Great Depression was called an "economic blizzard." At the moment our teaching of history is completely the other way, it is designed to reinforce the image of unstable peace. Thus as I travel around the country speaking I frequently ask audiences if those who have heard of the Rush-Bagot agreement would raise their hands; the score is rarely more than about two per cent. Yet it could be argued that this is one of the most important events in American history and that without it the First World War between Britain and the United States could easily have taken place in the Middle West. Perhaps what the Foreign Policy Association ought to do is set up a commission of historians, political scientists, strategists, peace researchers, and so on to study the problem of the dynamics of stable peace as it has developed especially in the last one hundred and fifty years with a view perhaps on developing a small textbook in this area.

A BASIC FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE: TWO FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN-EARTH EQUATIONS AND THEIR JUXTAPOSITION.

by

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Our basic task in social science is to give individuals an understanding of the world in which they live: the world of their personal lives, the world of their family, their community, their country; but the world of newspaper headlines, TV documentaries, of radio news reports, too. This is a world that is both as real as a look out the window and a talk with a friend and as abstract as the concept of the earth as a sphere, the thought of a world population of more than three billion people and the understanding of people half a world away. With over three billion people of a multitude of different cultural origins living on an earth with a seemingly infinite variety of planetary variations, both in terms of environmental conditions and locational relationships, the task of understanding is fantastically complex.

The significant issues important to mankind that we can deal with in social sciences, too, form a staggering array even when grouped in some logical fashion - i.e. by discipline or by problem.

Needed: An Overall Frame of Reference

To teach social science what is most needed is some overall frame of reference on which to hang the multitude of data and the myriad of possible understandings of specific situations and issues. International conciliation, delinquency, the population explosion, or any of the major "problems" of our time have little relevance when examined as entities in themselves apart from the large picture of overall human life in the world. There must be a conceptual structure within which to place the data, the places, situations, and issues.

In our search for order in the chaos of complexity we need, too, a frame that will bridge the gap between the reality of the individual's observable world and the abstractness of the planetary frame, for both impinge on the individual's life.

The first step in establishing an overall framework is to look for the variables that are of major significance in the variations of human life over the world - variations of importance at either the local level of the individual or at a global scale. These form the elements in the overall equation we are seeking to identify. Categorized at the largest order they are (1) the nature of the individual, (2) the character of the group, society or culture within which he lives, (3) the earth environment within which the group lives, (4) the technological capacity of the group to make use of environmental and cultural resources, (5) the interrelations between the group at its particular location on the earth and other places and peoples. All inquiry within the social sciences would seem to deal with one or the other of these categories and to a large degree the analysis of major questions involves the interrelations between them.

But to understand the world in which we live, whether viewed at the close-range of family and community or at the longest range of the globe, we still must have an overall frame that will give us understanding of the interrelationships of the elements in the man-earth equation. Viewed in its simplest form the human problem has been and will remain: how to live on this planet earth - how to wrest the necessities of life from an external earth environment. From the start, and increasingly so, this problem has been not only an individual matter, but one of a larger group - a society.

The Traditional Man-Earth Equation

However, at the start, man's capacity for understanding and working with the earth environment was so limited by his technology that the focus of not only the individual's attention, but that of the group was highly localized. The group did not have a global range or even a continental range. The problem of living was to figure out how to sustain life on the particular part of earth real-estate that the group occupied and the basic human instrument for using the particular local environment was the collective capacity of the group as it developed by trial and error and inspiration over time.

A social science of the world of man throughout most of man's history, then, has been the study of the many different societies or cultural groups, each living in its own particular piece of earth real-estate. Each group could be studied in itself or in terms of particular aspects of its life, or groups or particular aspects of life could be studied comparatively from group to group. In either case such study is of a world of mosaic tiles, each to be studied in terms of the man-environmental relations within and to be compared and contrasted in terms of similarities and differences in the separate systems that evolved within different mosaics.

Of course, from the start the individual man-earth tiles were not completely separate. Difficult as movement over the earth was to primitive man, remarkable journeys were made. Individuals and parties moved between groups and while they couldn't carry much in the way of goods, there was a traffic in ideas and in particularly valuable commodities - seeds, plants, animals, and critical artifacts. But the inputs to any local community from outside, though often of fundamental significance, were still secondary to the basic problem of human life: how the group could improve life in its locality from the distinctive earth environment there.

Notice that we have established a basic conceptual framework for understanding human life on the earth. We have set down a descriptive model for relating the basic factors: individual, group, earth environ-technology, and interrelations between places. The frame makes more meaningful both the individual elements of the human equation and the interrelations that provide understanding of the whole. The task of analysis and description still is considerable, but there is a frame on which to build from the most minute ingredient in the overall picture to a description of the whole.

The model of the equation of human life in the world that has just been described is readily recognized as one currently in vogue as an organizational frame for teaching the social sciences: the "cultural area" or "culture world" approach. It assumes the world to be divided into separate divisions on the basis of different culture groups and it focuses on the fundamental problem of each group, which is to live off of its particular piece of earth real estate using the knowhow that has been developed within the social group itself. The analysis of each culture group in its own little world reveals many variations in the equation: different degrees of knowhow, different group values, and different earth environments with which to deal. Comparison of one group with another is most interesting, for all sorts of similarities and differences can be found in the solution to the problems of life: there are important similarities between groups living in very different earth environments, yet there are also important differences between groups in very similar earth environments. All facets of human life - value systems, economic activities, governmental organizations, social patterns - can be held up for comparative study.

Such a model of the human equation is basic to an understanding of the rationale of most of human history and it is also fundamentally relevant to understanding a very large segment of the population of the earth today. Because, today, for much of mankind - in rural Asia, Latin America, and Africa and even in portions of Anglo America, Europe and the Soviet Union - the problem of life remains a locally-oriented one. It is the earth environment within the local area - often within eyesight of home - that must provide almost all of the basic needs of life. And, despite greater and greater inputs of ideas and technology from the rest of the world, it is still the knowhow of the local group - of its culture and technology - that determines how the problem of the use of local environment will be attacked.

A Different Human Equation: The World-Wide Realm of Modern Life

The culture world approach has given us a model for understanding much of human history and a large segment of the earth's population today. Proponents of this approach to social sciences point to the difficulty in our teaching of social sciences as involving errors in the way that the culture world model has been taught, not in the model itself. Thus, they chide us for our almost complete attention to only certain of the many culture worlds of man, namely, those of Western Man. Understanding of human relations will come, they infer, if we give "equal time" to other cultures. Thus, the increasing attention being given in progressive curricula to "non-western cultures."

But there is a fundamental difficulty in the culture world approach that cannot be solved by more attention to understanding the rationale of cultures other than our own, or even to more concern with comparison of different cultures. Large segments of today's world do not live according to the cultural-mosaic formula.

The model does not provide understanding of New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Peiping, or any of the major metropolitan centers of the world or most of the multitude of smaller urban communities in the world. None of these communities expects to support its population from the environmental resources of the local area. Stores or marketplaces abound with products gathered from points all over the earth. In turn, goods, capital, and ideas from these centers move out over the world. In the same way, farmers of the U.S. Cornbelt, the Argentine pampas, Latin American or African coffee plantations, or Soviet collective farms do not expect to produce all of the essentials of life. Rather their plan is to mass-produce as much of a particular high-value commodity as they can for sale in cities and metropolitan centers and elsewhere; then with the money received, to buy from the urban centers the variety of their wants.

Thus, then, there is in the world a second very different man-earth equation; one that had its origins in the limited intercommunity contacts begun long ago and described as a secondary input factor in our local-base model. The mechanism making all of this possible is long-range transportation and communication that has enabled man to connect parts of the world separated by many miles. In the early stages of technology it was caravan routes and, particularly, water routes - both river highways and the oceans - that offered a possible alternative to the local-base solution to man's problem of living on earth. For over these routes goods, ideas, and people could move from one particular earth environment and its human culture to another; there was a connecting network between the separate culture-tiles. However, because man's technology was so primitive, very little could actually be carried between locally-based communities by human porters, animals, wagons, or sail-powered vessels.

But with the continuing transformation of transportation that began with the Industrial Revolution 200 years ago in Europe, powered by the successive control and increased efficiency of use of inanimate energy sources - first water, then coal, petroleum, natural gas, and now nuclear energy - and the discovery of telegraph, telephone, radio and TV, not only has the time factor between places been reduced, but the quantity of goods, people and ideas that could be moved long-distance has been fantastically accelerated.

The result is the model of the man-earth equation that began with the European sea empires and has spread to Anglo-America, to Soviet Union, and is found in Japan, Australia, and in bridgeheads of cities and commercial producing areas in almost every country of the world. This model depends not on man-land relations within a local area, but rather on connections with other centers in a regional and increasingly, a worldwide network. More and more, this model assumes mass consumption by persons throughout the system and specialized production in particular points within the system. Thus, each producing area has the possibility of supplying consumers throughout the system and, in turn, the producers have the possibility of consuming goods from any other point in the system.

The system radically varies the human equation, for no longer is the population of a particular point in the system bound by the limitations either of (1) the character of the earth environment at that point as a base of support, or (2) the limitations of the thought and technology of the particular culture group. Theoretically, all peoples within the system can draw the best of goods and ideas from any other part of the worldwide network. Thus, points throughout the varied earth environment form the production base for the system and the collective knowhow of all persons in the system provides the capacity to increase the understanding of the environment and its possible use. Knowhow and technology developing within the system even offer the possibility of expanding beyond the limitations of the earth's crust to draw on other bodies in space.

As we have noted, this new worldwide system for supporting human life did not spring forth full-grown in the Twentieth Century. We know that evolved from the past and that it developed primarily from the Western European Culture World. Perhaps the Roman Empire was an early attempt at such a system, but the equation took effective form first, probably, in the British Empire. And while that empire connected producing areas on all continents, it really organized only a tiny fraction of the possible earth resources. Other European countries developed their own intercontinental networks on a smaller scale and in the United States, a modified form of the European culture, also developed its own version of the new interconnected system by organizing the varied resources of a continent into a functioning whole and by strengthening its ties to Europe as well. Today, other examples of the interconnected model on varying scales can be seen in the organization of the Soviet Union, and Japan. To an important degree, each country in today's world is trying to develop its own national resources and at the same time to tie into the increasingly developing worldwide connections.

Thus, just as there were many variations on the locally-based culture world model, so are there numerous forms of the long-range interconnected system.

It could be argued that the new interconnected human equation with its long-range connections that now are increasingly of global proportions is just a larger-scale version of the traditional model; modern transportation has simply extended the range of the human resource base; instead of walking distance from home, that range is now global. But there are other differences as well. Traditionally we have thought of the locally-based culture in terms of the organization of contiguous territory - the culture area, the political state, the economic region. But the British Empire with its connections across unused seas presented the beginnings of point-to-point connections across gaps that were not a part of the system. Increasingly, the new interconnected system with its global scale is of that sort. Activity is centered more and more in giant metropolitan foci and modern transportation and communication are primarily of a point-to-point nature connecting the metropoli.

The nature of the interconnected modern world is perhaps best characterized by jet air travel where the traveler boards a plane in one airport and is carried directly high into the sky above the clouds, where he no longer views the world unfolding in front of him as he has in all forms of conventional land transport, and, then, at his destination drops down into another metropolitan center much like the one he left. Increasingly such experiences are not just those between metropolitan centers on a single continent, but between centers throughout the worldwide intercontinental system.

The Two Equations in Social Science Teaching

Our world today is made up of two very different equations for human life on the earth: (1) that traditional locally-based culture which depends primarily on the knowhow of a particular small group out of the total population of the earth and on the resources of a tiny fragment of the full earth environment, and (2) the new worldwide interconnected system that draws on the resources of parts of the whole varied earth and, we might add, is building its own distinctive culture by incorporating bits and pieces from the many different culture areas that it touches, even though its European origins appear to be still dominant.

We have identified our task in social science as giving individuals an understanding of the world in which they live and within that charge to find order in the chaos of the myriad of human and earth relations in a seemingly infinite number of places. Our aim is to find an overall framework within which to examine the variations of human life over the world.

Fundamental to our charge in social science to provide understanding of human life on the earth today is something more than just that different human groups have developed variations on a single human equation of living on the earth; in fact, mankind today lives according to two very different systems that draw upon the earth environment in very different ways and result in fundamentally different perspectives of life and in very different problems and potentials.

The framework of social science should establish the two different human systems as the basic frame within which to compare and contrast life from place to place or component to component.Parts of the whole of mankind's life on the earth relate to one or the other or both of these two systems.

The two models we have outlined would seem to offer the basic ingredients of the overall framework. All human life can be viewed as falling within one or the other of the two models and thus, the frame of social science seen as the examination of the two models, their internal variations from place to place and culture to culture, and the juxtaposition of the two basic systems from one place to the other over the earth.

Surely the two systems impinge upon one another. As we have noted, no primarily locally-based community is completely isolated from contacts with the worldwide-interconnected network. Someone from the interconnected system - doctor, missionary, scientist, or tax collector - has entered the community. Eskimos drink tea and carry firearms; primitive Africans raise cotton to sell, or leave the village to work in mines. All of the centers of the worldwide network, not only have contacts today with some fundamentally locally-based communities, but, in fact, have developed out of locally-based communities of the past. Thus, they carry vestiges of locally-based values in their culture - political and social ideas, thoughts about what is "right" and "wrong", about God, about what to eat. The fact that we tend to teach social sciences emphasizing the "cultures of the world" approach, rather than of the two models of human life, is an indication of our locally-based tradition, as is our view of a political state necessarily covering contiguous territory and expecting the primary loyalty of all peoples within that territory.

It can be said that social scientist have recognized the two different systems and already deal with them. We regularly talk of "developed" and "underdeveloped" areas, sometimes using other terms such as "industrial and nonindustrial" or "technologically advanced and technologically less-advanced." But such a division tends to follow the old mosaic tile approach, separating the world into really homogeneous pieces.

The point is that the two different systems are not found side-by-side in the traditional mosaic patterns; rather, the interconnected network has spread over the mosaic touching down in particular points, but not in others. Thus, in any given part of the earth one can find the two different systems in close juxtaposition. In the Congo, most people may still live in the locally-based system focused on their own piece of earth real-estate, but Leopoldville is a city with regular communication and traffic with the worldwide network as are the Katanga copper region and other producing areas. Mexico is both Mexico City, with its rather important position in the interconnected world, and the Indian village, that is only peripherally tied to the world beyond walking distance from the village. In the United States, at first glance, the whole country might be considered part of the interconnected network, but what about the Navajos or even the rural European stock in parts of Appalachia or the Ozarks?

It may appear that the two systems have been largely defined in economic terms. This is because the problem has been seen particularly in terms of two different solutions to the problem of how to live in this world and living depends first of all upon a system of economic sustinence. But the two systems, as we know, in reality touch on all aspects of man's life. This is easy to see in the locally-based model. There the social group has been largely isolated, so it has had to work out all of the questions of life: what to eat, what to wear, what is right, what is the meaning of life, and all the rest. The easiest index to the problem of isolation is language, where each group in its isolation had to develop its own words for objects common to other cultures.

But, the worldwide interconnected system, too, is more than just an economic system. Language problems must be resolved and there is developing something of a common culture within the system. Interest in jazz in communities throughout the system, or in miniskirts, or in zen or yogi is evidence of this.

The point is that the examination of social science in terms of the overall frame of the two model systems and their juxtaposition gives us a base for understanding either the whole of mankind's life on this earth or of any part of it. It gives us a basis for not only comparison, but for comprehending pieces of the whole, whether those pieces involve either issues or areas. We can use the frame in developing the historical time-dimension as well as in examining the present scene. Within it we can study at any scale: that of the real world of the individual's everyday life, at one extreme, and of the abstract planetary world at the other.

The frame also enables us to examine it at different levels of complexity. It would seem essential that any conceptual frame for social science be applicable at all levels of the individual's educational development - from nursery school to the Ph.D. Often the simplistic world we paint in the early grades is not just simple, it is an unreal myth that presents misconceptions that are most difficult to change. As a geographer the example that comes to mind is the set of early case studies of peoples living within different environmental zones of the earth - the tropical forests, deserts, mid-latitude coasts, etc. - with the inference that differences in peoples are primarily the result of the different environmental circumstances they find themselves in. In the same way, early studies of countries or cultures, in themselves, grossly misrepresent the situation.

The two-fold framework of human life is not simplistic. Analysis of either system is complex and we, as yet, have little empirical data on the worldwide interconnected system where "information", in the sense of the systems analyist, and flow are of primary importance and where questions of decision-making and control are fundamental. But we have been concerned with establishing real challenges within social sciences that will take-hold of the best students and the frame proposed here would seem to offer that challenge and at the same time provide a vehicle within which modern scientific techniques and tools can be applied to the social sciences.

CURRICULUM REFORM STRATEGIES
IN THE WORLD AFFAIRS DOMAIN

by

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To bring about any large-scale curriculum reform is very difficult. The task of curriculum reform becomes almost impossible in an area which involves societal values which are very sensitive. That is society considers some values especially important and they are carefully protected. Whenever instruction nears those sensitive areas, obstacles appear. A host of quiet forces arises to diffuse the threat and render it harmless. Such is the problem in the World Affairs domain, for the discussion of foreign policy or other aspect of world affairs includes one or another of the social values which we must classify as highly sensitive. Hence, any reform will require really potent means of effecting it.

The development of a curriculum reform strategy needs to take into account the actual obstacles to curriculum reform and be designed to overcome them. Many curriculum movements have been ineffective because the designers too quickly assumed that a curriculum change was simply a matter of teacher reeducation or could be accomplished through the production of new instructional materials or any other of a number of logical, difficult, massive, but over-simple strategies. This truism is especially striking in nonsensitive academic areas. A good example is mathematics, where we find that the earliest essential formulation of the "New Math" occurred in 1830, and that the effort to bring more respectable mathematical ideas into the curriculum is still going on, with even the enormous reform movement of the last ten years producing only modest results so far. In the more sensitive areas, like intergroup relations or foreign affairs, the need to use appropriate curriculum reform medicine is multiplied many times.

The substance of this paper deals with the development of a curriculum reform strategy to implement learning activities related to the foreign affairs domain. The procedure is to define the principal objective in foreign affairs education, to identify the principal obstacles to the achievement of that objective, and to suggest reform strategies which are designed to overcome the worst obstacles and capitalize on the forces that will most readily contribute energy to the enterprise.

Definition: The Operations of World Perspective

We begin with a definition of one pivotal objective in any education that would help the student examine the affairs of the world and the development of foreign policy by his national government. This objective should be regarded as one example of a class of pivotal objectives in the area. They cannot all be identified here without devoting the entire paper to the business of identifying objectives. However, we cannot meaningfully discuss curriculum without some definition of curriculum goals. Perforce, we use one broad goal as our examples of purpose. The goal is that the student be able to see human relations from the perspective of world citizenship, of membership in the total community of men. This perspective is not dichotomous with the perspectives of local and national citizenship. It simply provides one important vantage for viewing human affairs.

The perspective of world citizenship involves an identification by the student with the rest of humanity. The student must see other people all over the globe as real, and their concerns as important and legitimate just as his are. This identification is an intricate and complex thing. It is worthwhile to see it in terms of the several social sciences. Geographically it means that he sees the network of world interdependence and influence. He learns that the exploitation and the conservation of resources is not simply a local or regional affair, but a global affair as well. Economically he sees not only the processes of community and national economic interchange, but the networks of international interchange as well and perhaps more critical the moral and practical consequences of the actions of man everywhere on man everywhere else. He begins to see not only the structure of international economic relations and institutions, but the consequences and obligations of world economic linkage. Anthropologically our young citizen begins to see the interplay of the earth's cultures. He notes the processes of cultural conflict and interchange. He sees too the gradual formation of world culture. He notes this and the spread of cultures in the acquisition by one of what another has to give, and he understands the processes of communication which come about when people who have been locked within their own reach outside of both and form a new linkage across the globe. Sociologically he sees the processes of assimilation and accommodation in the institutions and behavior patterns of the people around him, and he is able to identify the processes by which people are absorbed into the perspectives of their time and place and the processes by which this time of theirs socializes them to the global. Historically, our citizen sees the sweep of time as peoples all over the world have formed and reformed their heritages: mingled them, suppressed them, and found identity in them.

A world citizen, then, is a many sided fellow, and his life is complex, for reasons that are internal as well as external. When he focuses on a problem he can be sensored from his parochial perspective and identify if only temporarily with the perspective of many other levels of engagement. As alluring a characteristic as this seems, there are many forces that resist its actualization through public school curriculum and instruction.

The Forces of Resistance

When we are striving against odds to achieve some goal, it is often nice to identify an enemy - someone or some organization who is working against us and against whom we can direct our frustration and our lances. In the case of obstacles to the achievement of the perspectives of world citizenship, we are going to be disappointed, for the most part. For, while there are some pressure groups and individuals who work against foreign policy education,[1] the most potent negative forces are generated by natural, even mindless factors that are deeply rooted in the society and the school.

The Countervailing Influences of Political Socialization.

As a child matures, he absorbs the perspectives, including the values and attitudes, of the social milieu within which he is raised.[2] Put another way, his society takes hold of him and imbues him with its ways of thinking and feeling. This process results in different political and social values, depending on the culture and the specific group of people who surround a person as he matures.[3]

At the present time in the United States, the perspectives that are transmitted in most families do not include a world view. Nearly all American adults have some difficulty with all levels of citizenship, tending rather to be privatistic, and, moreover, many of those who do have local and national perspectives still have great difficulty with the international sphere. As a result, both parents and teachers tend to imbue the young with parochial rather than inter-national ways of viewing things. Moreover, the teachers as participants in this process are themselves lacking in the perspectives of world citizenship. They, children of their culture, are busily making other children of the culture.[4]

Present international events and the current national entanglement with the entire social world may change the situation, of course, and world perspectives may gradually develop in the mainstream of American life.

For the present, however, it must be recognized that political socialization in the United States, while it provides perspectives for local and national citizenship, does not provide international perspectives for a large proportion of American children. More critical, probably, is that teachers are not socialized to an international view. It must be remembered also that the differentiation of social attitudes occurs during the elementary school years, so that curricular efforts are most critical during that period.

The Tradition of Taboo Areas in Social Studies. Over the years the American School has protected areas of critical political, economic, and social values by keeping them closed to inquiry by students. The development of closed areas has by no means been entirely a conscious process, nor has it been part of a nation-wide conspiracy. The natural processes by which social taboos form have been operating. To the teacher in the classroom, it has simply "not seemed right" to deal with many things with young people.

A few years ago Hunt and Metcalf identified six of these areas: economics, race and minority-group relations, social class, sex, courtship, and marriage, religion and morality, and nationalism and patriotism.[5] Several of these, of course, are intimately connected with any study of world affairs or the attainment of any of the perspectives of world citizenship, especially economics, intergroup relations, and nationalism.

At this writing, there are some signs that the closed areas are opening up somewhat. (They have always been open in some classrooms.) But still, especially in the elementary school, many areas are customarily avoided. Any curricular effort needs to anticipate that world affairs, foreign policy, and the perspectives of world citizenship will be unfamiliar intruders in the elementary school world, and far from familiar acquaintances in the secondary school.

The teacher's fear of corrupting the children contributes to maintenance of the closed areas. John Gibson and his associates have pointed out that teachers and many other citizens are often reluctant to discuss undesirable behavior (crime, dope, sex, communism) with children because they fear that the children will be encouraged to engage in the unwanted behavior. To discuss dope addiction, for example, is regarded as possibly legitimizing it, or "giving the wrong idea". To deal with race prejudice is seen as encouraging it. For many years it was a widespread belief that to teach about communism was to make children liable to seduction by it.

In the present case, there is a good possibility that teachers will avoid exposing children to the global perspective because they are afraid that it will encourage anti-patriotism. This fear will probably be subliminal. Instead of being controlled by the advantages of multi-level perspectives on social relations, the teacher will more likely be dominated by his role as surrogate of the national society. Particularly this will be true because the teacher himself was most likely not socialized to world perspective as a child - it is alien to him, in many ways.

Perhaps most important for our purposes here, the teacher's fear of corrupting the child occurs most intensely at the elementary school level, because the children seem more vulnerable and impressionable there. (And indeed they are!) Hence, it inhibits world affairs teaching precisely where it could have the greatest effect.

The unstructured nature of the field of world affairs. Whether we examine international law, or the social sciences, or the position papers of the state department, or any of the other sources of information and ideas in the world affairs domain, it is evident that there is still no clear and readily-defined set of structural ideas or methods of inquiry which are used in the field. Many critical areas of national and international interest are confused and informed opinion is hard to come by. This unstructured state combines with the emotionality with which many international problems are approached to create a situation in which rationality is hard to come by. Further, the more instructured a situation, the greater latitude there is for social pressure to operate on judgment.[7]

Hence, approaching the perspective of world citizenship is difficult. Stances for facing problems of national vs. international loyalty, for example, are not well worked out. Not only in the public mind but in professional circles as well there are few paradigms for examining issues coolly and gaining independent sources of information.[8]

Put another way, because the content of foreign affairs is not yet represented by a structure of ideas. Through systems analysis and other devices models are gradually emerging, but the bulk of the field is amorphorus, and this makes the development of curriculum a treacherous business.

The Inductive Teaching Problem. In any area which involves social values when the development of curriculum is discussed publicly, there is quick agreement that no one wants to brainwash the young - to hand him a readymade set of ideas and values. It is an easy step from that position to the recommendation that instruction be carried on inductively. "We'll show the kids the world perspective," the argument goes in our case, "and then let them form their own ideas." Thus reduced, one proceeds to develop inductive teaching strategies and back-up materials. So far, so good.

Then, the trouble begins. One is rudely reminded that the teaching styles of most teachers do not adapt well to inductive teaching procedures. Whether one looks at teaching from the stance of Bellack,[9] Flanders,[10] Medley and Mitzel,[11] Hunt and Joyce,[12] or anyone else who has studied teaching with contemporary research tools, the answer has been the same. Most teachers work with directive, recitative or lecture styles, and these styles are persistent and difficult to change. Only the application of the most advanced training methods has any effect, and that often for only a small percentage of the teachers.[13] The majority of teachers, even with advanced assistance can teach inductively only part of the time.

A curriculum reform, then, which depends entirely on inductive teaching will almost surely fail. A reform that is accompanied by very powerful teacher training can use limited inductive strategies for some purposes.

Fortunately, there are many teaching strategies which do not brainwash. Many films, lectures, and books, for example, are constructed so as to lead and stimulate the student without controlling him.

The plight of instructional materials. The serious state of textbooks in the social studies is well known and much commented on. In the area of foreign affairs the situation is still nearly desperate,[15] although it is slowly improving for the older children.[16] The materials developed at Carnegie Tech and Northwestern University provide handles on the study of comparative economic and political systems, and the Lincoln-Filene project[6] on race and culture are a beginning at the elementary school level. The first materials to appear from the High School Geography Project are very strong and imaginative. The Inter-nation Simulation is a good beginning to the use of gaming in the area. The situation is so severe in the lower grades that any decent exploration of global perspective is seriously disadvantaged and this characterization remains essentially true in the high school except for the academically talented students.

Obstacles Real and Mythical. The obstacles above identified are real and are imposing hurdles to curriculum reform in the foreign policy domain. They can be overcome, however, and the means are readily identifiable, provided that one does not succumb to obstacles which are products of his imagination. To hint at a few, by stating them positively.

The textbook industry can change. Television teaching can be effective and involve even young children. Teachers can learn to operate in a scholarly way. The public will stand for foreign affairs teaching.

The problem is to select a strategy.

Elements of Curriculum Reform

What can bring about curriculum reform where the objective is to help the student apply the strategies of the social sciences from the perspective of world citizenship - to slice reality as if he were closely identified with all mankind and to analyze human relations from that point of view?

Let us approach this question first by identifying the substantive elements of curriculum reform - the clusters of institutional behavior that add up to a major curriculum change, and then by speculating on procedural elements - prongs of a strategy that will have a reasonable change of overcoming the obstacles we identified earlier.

The substantive elements of curriculum reform. To bring about a large-scale curriculum reform is to try to reshape a large and unwieldly institution. While there is no solid agreement on the things that constitute such an educational change, there probably would be no great disagreement with the following: a rational plan has to be formulated that specifies ends, means, and support systems;[17] a system has to be developed for implementing the plan; and an on-going organization has to be developed to take over research, evaluation, and materials - development functions to improve and maintain the reform.

Each of the obstacles which were identified earlier can be seen in terms of the three substantive tasks above (curriculum planning, curriculum implementation, and curriculum research and maintenance). The process of curriculum reform can be shaped in terms of strategies designed to overcome the specific obstacles.

The Political Socialization Problem

All three curriculum tasks are affected by this one.

The curriculum plan should draw heavily on the social psychology of attitude formation. It should be recognized that to induce global perspective is to affect deeply-ingrained attitudes. To aim at information or ideas alone would be to fail surely. The dynamics of attaining global perspective are probably similar to those in intergroup education - the development of an attitude requires information, the learning of systems of inquiry into the attitude itself, and an opportunity to examine one's emerging position.[2]

Curriculum implementation is related to socialization factors because of the problems inherent in the teachers' socialization. For one thing, it means that implementation through the mass of teachers is very unlikely to succeed without a truly enormous expenditure of money and effort. It is probably far wiser to develop a curriculum plan whose implementation, at least in the early stages, is through film, television, and the written word - media through which a few skilled teachers can reach a great many students and, gradually, to be sure, affect many other teachers.

Research, evaluation, and maintenance. Although much is known about what will not affect the perspectives people bring to problems, very little is known about how people learn or can be taught perspectives. A systematic research and development effort is required to reshape and strengthen any curriculum strategy.

The Tradition of Taboo Areas

To open up the taboo areas of teaching the curriculum plan has to be very clear and easy to administer. Teachers, parents, and school officials will need to understand what changes are being made and why. The means-ends relationship in the curriculum plan needs to be particularly strong, because the tendency to reinstitute the closed areas is very great. The curriculum strategy cannot depend on large numbers of teachers, because they will be prone to resume their traditions.

Implementation, for much the same reason, needs to rely on mass media, easy-to-administer instructional materials - once again we find ample reason to plan implementation so that a few highly-skilled people operate through media that gives them great impact.

Research, Evaluation, and Maintenance. Again, little is known about opening the taboo areas of the social studies. The recent research by Oliver and Shaver[18] and Gibson and Grannis[6] has made a beginning on which we can build. The first steps in a serious curriculum reform that treads on the taboo areas are bound to be halting. An enormous research effort will be necessary.

The Teachers' Fear of Corrupting The Children

This obstacle is most pertinent to classroom teaching, although it provides more reason why a reform strategy that overly depends on large numbers of teachers, especially in the early stages, will probably fail.

Curriculum Plans need to stress ways of promoting objectively using the methods of the social sciences. This will show teachers how to handle what will conceive to be sensitive areas in ways that stress analysis rather than the emotional content of the study of foreign affairs. Teachers are more likely to understand how to apply the global perspective to the study of, say, economic aspects of world organizations than they are to approach the value questions of national sovereignty with any equanimity.

Implementation needs to feature demonstrations of ways of applying social science frameworks to the world affairs domain. Especially the weaker teachers are put off by delicate subjects and unfamiliar ones. They need to see clearly how difficult questions can be approached through analytic frameworks.

Research and Evaluation should focus on the effects of teacher training. Some careful case studies are needed on how to help teachers approach the sensitive areas.

The Unstructured Nature of the Field

Curriculum plans are generally incoherent unless a well-structured academic source provides content and intellectual vigor. To make a comprehensive plan in the world affairs domain requires that a working structure, however, temporary, be laid on the field. The work of Oliver is illustrative here, for he has demonstrated how one can go about deriving an analytic structure (for analyzing public issues, in his case) and building a curricular system around it.[18]

Implementation will depend heavily on teaching that structure to the persons who create the media systems and develop training programs for teachers. Many of the earlier-described obstacles will not be overcome unless this structure is well-articulated, because the emotional tendency to avoid the critical issues will dominate unless a strongly rational avenue is provided.

The implications for research are probably obvious. As a structure is developed, it can be tested and reshaped until a viable curricular system can be built around it.

The Inductive Teaching Problem

The Curriculum Plan, if it is realistic, will develop several teaching strategies. Some of these will capitalize on the things the average teacher does best. Others will use the talents of a few who reach their students through media. The realistic curriculum plan will not call for the mass of teachers to learn reflective teaching procedures in a short time.

Implementation of any inductive teaching procedures, hence, must be intensive and highly professional. Unless an agency is willing to pay a huge price, it will organize implementation so that demonstrations through television and film carry much of the burden, rather than "institutes" and "workshops". A disproportion of the budgets of the large curriculum projects has been used in teacher training from which the results are relatively small. A curriculum plan which uses integrated media systems for its major thrust is far more practical and likely to succeed.

Instructional Materials

Curriculum plan. Far too many plans have required personal teaching strategies; that is to say, strategies requiring direct teaching by many teachers. These strategies in turn depend on scarce teaching materials, which has plunged the curriculum project into massive production of instructional devices, many of which are felt to be misused. It is far wiser to develop integrated media systems in which personal teaching is only part of a whole that includes direct teaching via film and television and self-teaching by many means. A total system props up the weak teacher, provides children with greater independence, and can always be transformed by the strong teacher. By using masterful teaching over appropriate media, it assures many students a quality of teaching they could never receive directly.

Research and evaluation, however, would be a heavy component. We have yet to see a really first-class, multi-media curriculum reform in the social studies. There are many interesting models, however, in the modern foreign languages. Joyce and Joyce are beginning to develop models and an empirical base in the social studies.[19]

A General Strategy

The salient features of a comprehensive reform strategy, then, are: to lay a solid intellectual structure on the world affairs domain (a la Oliver and Shaver in the public issues domain[18]); to develop a comprehensive curriculum plan that could serve as the guide for the construction of multi-media man-machine system[19] for teaching, with some teaching-through-media. The implementation of such a system would be difficult, but much less so than systems depending on personal teaching alone. Further, they would guide teachers and schools into the until recently taboo areas and show them how to handle sensitive areas without either corrupting or brainwashing the children.

The entire process would have to be constructed with reference to the psychology of socialization and attitude formation because foreign affairs education is confounded and complicated by being entwined with the international political socialization of the young.

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EDUCATION FOR THE CONCEPT OF A GLOBAL SOCIETY

by

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The nature and the functions of the nation-state have been undergoing important changes in recent years. To conceptualize the "international system" entirely in terms of autonomous, supreme nation-states as the operating units does not fully conform to current reality, nor does it provide an adequate model for meeting many of the needs of the world's population.

There is no doubt that the nation-state remains the dominant unit in the international system. After all, this is the basic assumption on which the international system is organized, an assumption that is constantly reinforced both by national and international institutions. This does not mean, however, that the typical nation-state is as independent or self-sufficient as the ideal model of the nation-state would imply. There is increasing penetration of national states by other states and by international organizations (Rosenau, 1966). Even powerful states are constrained, not only in their international activities, but also in their domestic affairs - in the political, economic, and social realms - by events and reactions in other countries. Regional groupings are playing a larger role in the affairs of their component states. Intergovernmental agencies, staffed by international civil servants, carry out various important non-political functions (e.g., in such areas as health and welfare or economic development), at least for the smaller states.

In many important ways, therefore, both national governments and their individual citizens function in a transnational society, or a series of transnational societies. This reality is also reflected in the trends toward the development of a genuine world community. Among the youth of all nations, in particular, a common universal culture, with a common set of values and tastes, seems to be taking shape. Furthermore, both because of the existence of common problems and because of the increased facilities for cross-national communication, such phenomena as student rebellions spread rapidly over a number of societies. International contact for many segments of national societies is extensive and - particularly in professional fields, such as science, medicine, the arts, and various areas of scholarship - national lines have become increasingly meaningless as a basis for organizing the business at hand.

It is also becoming increasingly evident that the nation-state is no longer capable of serving some of the functions that it was designed to serve. Foremost among these is the function of military security, which no state - no matter how powerful - can fulfill on a unilateral basis today. Newer and poorer states, in particular, cannot entirely rely on their own resources to carry out the functions of economic development and of meeting the health and welfare needs of their populations. Higher education, scientific research, and technological development are among those functions that will increasingly have to be organized on a transnational basis. On all of these issues there are, of course, differences of opinion about the desirability of transnational as against national arrangements. The idea of arranging for military security on a transnational basis, for example, (cf. Kelman, 1962) is obviously controversial. In principle, however, it should be possible to settle these questions on an empirical basis by setting criteria for what would be an adequate way of fulfilling a particular function and then comparing national and transnational arrangements in terms of the degree to which they meet these criteria.

The new realities and necessities of the international system inevitably involve some infringement of national sovereignty. They do not represent or require an abandonment of the nation-state. The nation-state can remain not only an important, but even the dominant political unit, while relegating certain functions and delegating certain powers to transnational or supranational entities. The new developments do, however, mean that, at least in some areas, the nation-state has relinquished and must relinquish its paramountcy - its unique position at the apex of political power, which permits it to overrule all other units, both larger and smaller, at any time. By the same token, at the social-psychological level, the new developments do not require a displacement of national loyalties by loyalty to transnational institutions or organizations. They do, however, imply a tolerance for multiple loyalties, for permitting the development of transnational loyalties alongside of national ones. There is no necessary conflict between the two. Multiple sets of loyalties are, in principle, completely compatible with one another, as long as the groups to which these loyalties are directed serve different functions and apply to different domains of a person's behavior (cf. Guetzkow, 1955).

A major implication of the new developments is that, in important ways, we are living in a transnational, global society - or perhaps, to be more accurate, in a series of transnational, global societies. That is, what is evolving is not a global society in the sense of a single unit,defined on a territorial basis, but different ways of forming transnational units to carry out a variety of specific functions or to give expression to a variety of specific values and tastes. These global societies are taking shape in addition to, not instead of, the national societies to which we belong. To a considerable extent, such societies are already operating realities, that is, societal functions are being organized and cultural values and tastes are being expressed on a transnational basis even if the extent of these developments is not fully recognized. In other respects, transnational organization is required by objective conditions (i.e., as I have argued, if certain important functions are to be adequately fulfilled), but this necessity has not been translated into action. In other words, one can say that, in these respects, we are living in a global society as far as the nature of our problems and the consequences of our actions are concerned, but not as far as our pattern of organization for dealing with these problems is concerned.

In the light of changing realities, it is the role of the schools to prepare students to understand the nature of the global society that is developing and to function within it. I do not mean that schools should deliberately foster internationalist values, but they should enable students to obtain a realistic picture of the extent to which we are in fact living in a global society and of the consequences of organizing various functions in a transnational as compared to a national way. I assume that this would make internationalist values a more viable option for the new generation of citizens. This should not and certainly need not be a matter of imposing internationalist values on them (as, of course, nationalist values are now being imposed on them in most schools), but a matter of giving them the tools for making intelligent choices between different alternatives under different circumstances. From all indications, schools do not now prepare their students adequately for such choices. I would assume that this is due, in large part, to the very same factors that create barriers to the development of a global society in the nation-state at large - both among decision-makers and members of the general public. No doubt, a circular process is operating here. The failure to educate children for a global society strengthens the barrier against the development of such a society within the nation-state; the barriers against the development of a global society, in turn, help to account for the failure of the educational system to provide adequate preparation. The school curriculum can, thus, be a major force in breaking into this vicious circle.

The major source of barriers to a global society, in my view, is the cognitive and affective dominance of the national system in the minds of national populations. Our thinking is so thoroughly structured in terms of the national system that it is very difficult for us to think about - and particularly to think creatively about - other ways of organizing the world. Moreover, the nature of citizens' involvement in the national system is such that it generally also creates emotional barriers to transnational arrangements. There is a tendency to view transnational loyalties as competitive with national loyalties and, therefore, to shy away from them. Thus, an essential input into an educational experience that would promote an understanding of our emerging global society and an openness to its possibilities is an objective examination of national society and of the effects it has on our structuring of the world and on our emotional attachments. In the remainder of this paper I shall discuss some of the social-psychological considerations that might enter into such an examination.

Specifically, I shall (1) outline a model of the sources of attachment of the individual to the modern nation-state, (2) show how the nature of the nation-state and of these attachments to it create cognitive and affective barriers to the development of a global society, and (3) describe some of the factors that favor the development of a global society and that can help in overcoming some of the barriers to it.

Sources of individual attachment to the national system.

A central component of the ideology of the modern nation-state is the principle that the nation-state is the political unit in which paramount authority is vested. As I have already mentioned in passing, the state is placed at the pinnacle of power and entitled to overrule both smaller and larger political units. The effective functioning of the nation-state, as it is commonly conceived, depends on a widespread acceptance of this ideology or at least of its behavioral implications within the population. A citizen who accepts the ideology regards the authority of the state and hence its specific demands (within some broadly defined range) as legitimate. In times of national crisis, these demands call for sacrifices from individual citizens that they are prepared to make because, at such times, the role of national - which in normal times is relatively latent - becomes the paramount role in the individual's hierarchy and its requirements supersede all competing role obligations. The state's ability to enlist this kind of support from the population - without having to rely on coercion - depends, in the final analysis, on its perceived legitimacy in the eyes of the population.

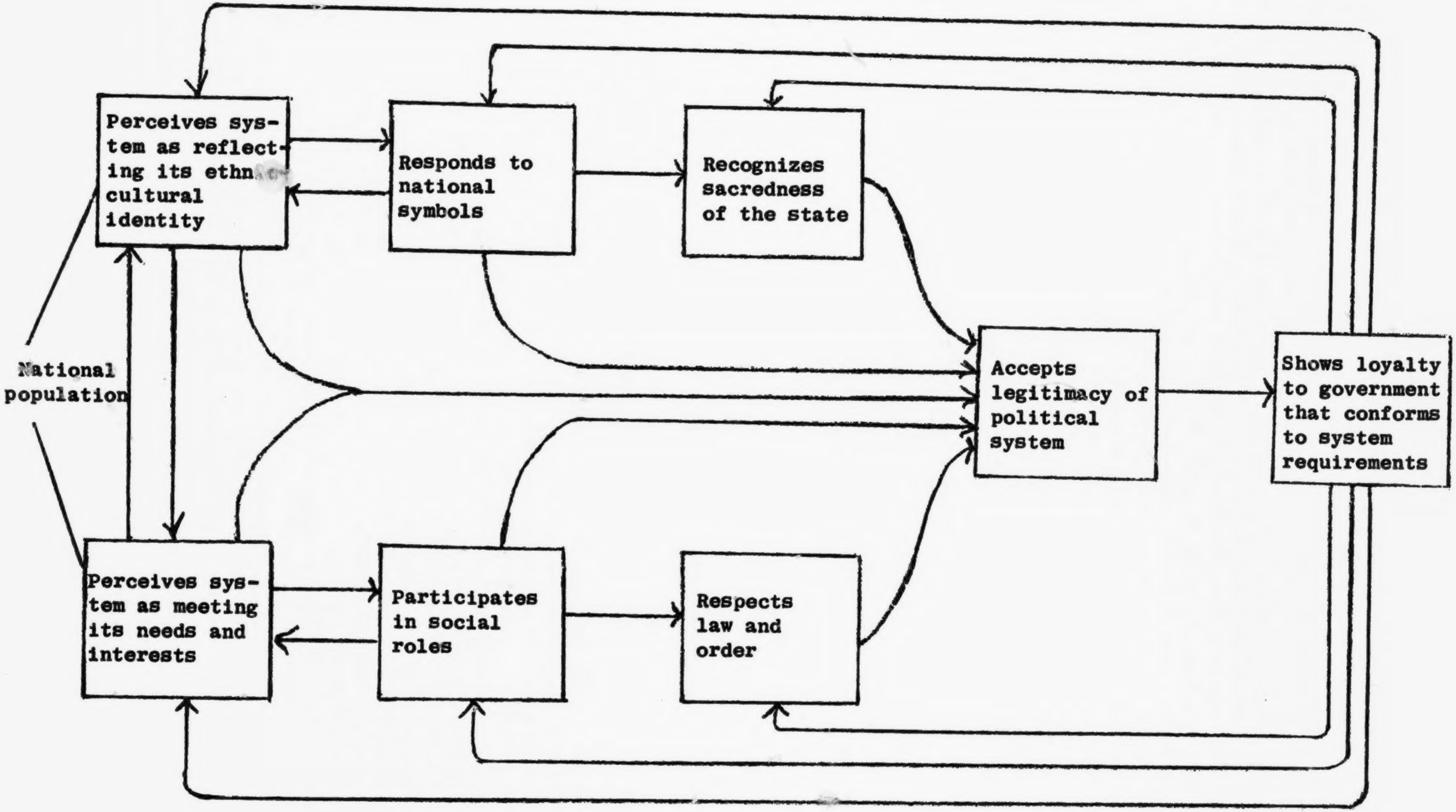
In another recent paper (Kelman, in press) I have referred to a system as legitimate when it is perceived as having the right to exercise authority in a given domain and within specified limits. Thus, when the administration of a legitimate political system makes certain demands, citizens accept them willingly, whether or not they like them - unless these demands are seen as arbitrary and outside of the limits of the leaders' legitimate authority. Psychologically, once the demand is seen as legitimate, the individual finds himself in a non-choice situation. His preferences are irrelevant; the legitimate demand takes on the character of an external reality which defines the dimensions of the situation and the required response. Reactions in a situation of legitimate influence are not so much governed by motivational processes as they are by perceptual ones. The focus is not on what the individual wants to do, given available alternatives, but on what is required of him.

At the social-psychological level, the legitimacy of a political system is reflected in the sense of loyalty that its members have toward it. Perceived legitimacy implies that the individual member is in some fashion personally involved in the system - that he feels attached to it and is integrated into its operations. Corresponding to the principle that the nation-state is the political unit in which paramount authority is vested is what Guetzkow (1955) describes as the "norm of exclusiveness." According to this norm, national loyalty must be given priority whenever other loyalties come into conflict with it.

There are two ultimate sources of legitimacy for the national system: the extent to which it reflects the ethnic-cultural identity of the national population, and the extent to which it meets the needs and interests of the population. In the long run, a political system cannot maintain its legitimacy unless at least a significant proportion of the population perceive it as meeting their needs and interests (although it can, of course, retain power by relying on coercive means, even if only a small elite are adequately integrated into the system). Up to a point, a system can maintain its legitimacy even if it is not working effectively, or if it is facing serious economic difficulties, or if it is torn by internal conflicts so that it can adequately provide for the needs and interests of some segments of the population only at the expense of others, as long as it is strong in the second base of legitimacy - that is, as long as it is seen by wide segments of the population as representing the nation. I use the term "nation" here in a cultural sense of a people sharing a common history, common values, and common traditions, rather

Figure 1

Sources of legitimacy and loyalty for the modern nation-state


Perceives system as reflecting its ethno-cultural identity
Responds to national symbols
Recognizes sacredness of the state
National population
Accepts legitimacy of political system
Shows loyalty to government that conforms to system requirements
Perceives system as meeting its needs and interests
Participates in social roles
Respects law and order

than in the political sense of the population of a nation-state. The correspondence between state and nation - the assumption that the political entity corresponds to an ethnic, cultural, and historical entity with which at least large portions of the population identify - is the major ideological underpinning of the modern nation-state and provides the theoretical justification for it. In fact, of course, there is hardly any nation-state in which such a precise correspondence holds in practice. That is, the nation-state usually covers more than one ethnic-cultural entity. Nonetheless, it can maintain its legitimacy even for minority ethnic groups if these have become assimilated into the majority culture in some essential respects (as in the United States) or if sub-populations have developed a common national identity in addition to their separate ethnic identities (as in Switzerland) or if it at least offers protection to the cultural identities of minority groups.

Figure 1 depicts these two ultimate sources of legitimacy for the political system in terms of the perceptions of the national population. A well-functioning national system enjoys legitimacy derived from both of these sources. It is possible, however, to distinguish different systems, or different historical periods for the same system, in terms of the relative weights of these two bases of legitimacy. Also, for different groups and individuals within the population, one or the other source of legitimacy may predominate. I have distinguished, in this connection, (Kelman, in press) between individuals who are primarily sentimentally attached to the system, i.e., who see it as reflecting their cultural identity, and those who are primarily instrumentally attached, i.e., who see it as meeting the needs and interests of the population.

I have already implied that these two bases of legitimacy can, within limits, substitute for one another. That is, if the population's sentimental attachments to the system are strong, it can maintain its legitimacy even though it does not adequately meet their needs and interests, or does so only for a small proportion of the population. Conversely, if the population's instrumental attachments are strong, then it can maintain its legitimacy even though it does not adequately reflect its ethnic-cultural identity or does so only for a small proportion of the population. Furthermore, each of the two sources of legitimacy can potentially facilitate the development of the other (as portrayed by the arrows in Figure 1 between "ethnic-cultural identity" and "needs and interests"). Thus, if a population perceives the system as being genuinely representative, then it is inclined to feel confident that the system will meet its needs most faithfully and provide the best protection of its interests. Supported by this initial confidence of the citizens and by their willingness to give it the benefit of the doubt, the regime is in a stronger position to push for economic development and to organize the society in a way that will in fact meet the needs and interests of the population. Similarly, a well-functioning society, which provides meaningful roles for its citizens, will develop a set of common values and traditions and a sense of unity that are tantamount to a national identity, even if the population was originally diverse in its ethnic and cultural identifications. This national identity need not displace the original ethnic-cultural identities of the component groups, but can exist alongside of them. When this happens, of course, there is always the possibility that the two sets of identities may come into conflict with one another, as they have recently, for example, in French Canada, in Scotland, in Slovakia, and in some of the Yugoslavian republics. The re-emergence of a subgroup identity in competition with the national identity generally results from a feeling among members of the subgroup that the national system is no longer meeting their special needs and interests to an adequate degree.

The acceptance of the legitimacy of the national system by a population is ultimately based, as I have argued, in its perception of the system as reflecting its cultural identity and as meeting its needs and interests. There are additional social-psychological mechanisms, however, which may mediate between these basic conceptions and the acceptance of the system's legitimacy. I have tried to sketch in these mechanisms in Figure 1.

Individuals who value their ethnic and cultural identity tend to respond with positive affect to symbols expressive of that identity. Thus, insofar as they perceive the political system as reflecting their cultural identity, they are likely to react positively to symbols of the nation-state, such as the flag, the national anthem, the head of state, and often certain religious symbols that are linked to the nation (see upper half of Figure 1). The mere presentation of these symbols - which, in essence, link the state to the nation - serves as a reminder of the legitimacy of the system and creates a readiness to meet its demands willingly. Furthermore, insofar as the state is seen as an embodiment of the nation and linked to the nation via emotionally arousing symbols, it tends to become a sacred object in its own right. This sacredness itself endows it with legitimate authority and promotes ready obedience to its demands. The emotional impact of the symbols of the nation-state and its sacredness derive from the fact that the system is perceived as reflecting the identity of the people. These links may, however, be broken with time and national symbols or the sacredness of the state apparatus may become functionally autonomous bases of legitimacy. That is, a person may learn to respond emotionally to national symbols, and thus extend his loyalty to the system that invokes them, without reference to the cultural values that these symbols originally represented. Similarly, a person may learn to regard the state apparatus as sacrosanct and to give it his unquestioning obedience, without regard to the national ethos that the state originally embodied and with only minimal emotional involvement in national symbols. I assume, however, that a system can maintain its legitimacy for the long run only if there is at least a periodic renewal of the cultural values on which legitimacy ultimately rests, particularly at times when there is a need to consolidate a population that is internally divided.

In the lower half of Figure 1, I am suggesting that individuals who perceive the system as meeting the population's needs and interests are likely to involve themselves actively and fully in social roles mediated by the system, such as occupational roles, community roles, or roles in voluntary associations. Since the effective enactment of important social roles depends on the system, they have a personal stake in its integrity and are inclined to accept the legitimacy of its authority. They are particularly likely to meet system demands willingly if they are confronted with them in the context of one of their system-mediated roles. Furthermore, insofar as the system is seen as an effective instrument in meeting the interests of the population and in providing the individual with an opportunity for participation in meaningful social roles, he is likely to develop a commitment to law and order in their own right. He accepts the legitimacy of the system because he is concerned with maintaining the orderly and predictable procedures without which the system cannot run smoothly. Loyalty to the system based on participation in subsystem roles and respect for law and order derive from the fact that the system is perceived as meeting the needs and interests of the general population. Again, however, these links may be broken and involvement in social roles or commitments to law and order may become functionally autonomous bases of legitimacy. That is, a person may become personally tied into the system via various subsystem roles and thus extend his loyalty to it without reference to the adequacy of the society's institutions in serving the entire population. Similarly, a person may learn to respect law and order without regard for the success of the processes that he is upholding in serving the principles of justice and general welfare, and with only peripheral personal participation in system-mediated roles. Again, I assume that if the system is to maintain its legitimacy for the long run, there must at least be periodic reassessments of the adequacy of its social institutions in meeting the needs and interests of the general population, particularly at times of pronounced intrasocietal conflict.

At the extreme right of Figure 1 I have indicated that when a population accepts the legitimacy of the political system, then it is prepared to extend its loyalty to the specific government or administration that is in charge of the system at any given time. There is one proviso, however, and that is that the government acquire and use its power by legitimate processes, i.e., by procedures that conform to the rules and requirements of the system. A fundamental feature of legitimate authority is the constraint it imposes, not only on those who are subject to this authority, but also on those who exercise it. The authority derives from a legitimizing agency (such as a constitution, a set of political institutions, a religious creed) that is external to both the governors and the governed. Legitimate authority, thus, cannot be exercised in arbitrary fashion, but must always be referred to the system from which it is derived. A system cannot remain legitimate in the long run unless there is some way of defining the conditions under which authority is being used in illegitimate fashion and removing from power those who are responsible for such a misuse of their authority.

A government that is legitimate, by virtue of both the legitimacy of the political system that it operates and its own conformity to the requirements of that system, can count on the loyalty of the citizenry and their readiness to meet the expectations of the citizen role. Moreover, such a government has at its disposal various mechanisms for strengthening the loyalty of citizens and reinforcing the legitimacy of the system itself. Of special importance are its ability to appeal to national symbols and to exert influence on individuals by means of their subsystem roles. These mechanisms are also used, within the limits of their ability to do so, by the governments of new nation-states, who have yet to establish a firm basis of legitimacy for the system. Such governments attempt to develop national symbols and to promote emotional commitments to them, in the hope that out of these symbols a genuine sense of national identity will emerge. Similarly, they attempt to create within that small segment of the population that has meaningful roles in the incipient national society a commitment to the political system, in the hope that they will then contribute to the establishment of social institutions that are conductive to the general welfare. I have drawn arrows, in Figure 1, from "national symbols" to "ethnic-cultural identity" and from "social roles" to "needs and interests" to indicate that the development of legitimacy may - and, in fact, often does - follow this particular sequence rather than the reverse.

National symbols and subsystem roles are also central to two more general processes whereby the modern nation-state creates, renews, and utilizes the loyalty of its citizens: the processes of socialization and of what might best be called "entanglement." The state derives much of its unique and paramount power from the fact that it exercises considerable control over the way in which its citizens are socialized and the way they are hooked into the national society.

Loyalty to the nation is instilled in the child in the course of his socialization through some major primary groups, particularly the family and the church. The state draws on the importance of these institutions to an individual's personal identity, on his emotional commitment to them, and on their sacredness in his eyes, in order to create a sentimental attachment to the political system. Also, loyalty to the nation-state is deliberately and systematically fostered in the school. What happens, essentially, in the course of socialization - and particularly in the schools - is an emotional conditioning of the child to national symbols. Thus, whenever it becomes necessary to mobilize the population, for example, in periods of crisis, national symbols can be brought into play to heighten emotional arousal. In sum, the nation-state's unusual power over the loyalty of its citizens derives in part from its control over the schools and from its linkage to such primary, affect-laden socializing agencies as the family and the church.

A second process for engendering loyalty that is at the disposal of the nation-state rests on its extensive control over the economic and social institutions of the society. In the complex, bureaucratically structured, modern nation-state individual citizens are highly dependent on the central authorities. Their proper functioning in their various social roles, including their occupational roles and their roles in local communities, is vitally affected by agencies of the national system. Thus, they are entangled in the system in the sense that various important roles are thoroughly embedded in it. To defend the system becomes tantamount to defending their total way of life. Because of this entanglement, the state is able to use more deliberate mechanisms of cooptation whenever this becomes necessary for carrying out its functions. That is, the leaders of various groups and institutions within the society (such as leaders in the field of education, the church, business, or labor) tend to be coopted in the service of the state, particularly in times of crisis. Occupants of leadership roles are, thus, expected to take the initiative in mobilizing their constituencies, who, in turn, are themselves entangled in the system via their own social roles. Again, then, we see that the state is able to lean on organizations and institutions that have an immediate relevance to the individual's daily life in order to obtain the loyalty and support of its citizens.

Cognitive and affective barriers to the development of a global society.

The basic assumption of the ideology of the modern nation-state, as it is depicted in my model of the sources of its legitimacy, is that the unit that meets the needs and interests of the population (and is entrusted with the necessary power to do so) must also be the unit that reflects the cultural identity of the population. These two elements are intimately bound up with each other; the political system is both the executive body for the society and the spokesman for the cultural community. Insofar as a population has a shared sense of national identity and insofar as the system is potentially capable of meeting the needs and interests of that population, an ideology that joins these two elements can be highly functional and add considerable strength to the political system. The sentimental attachment of the population to the system enhances their trust in it, and makes them more willing to give the leadership the benefit of the doubt, to accept temporary sacrifices, to relinquish subgroup interests in favor of interests of the larger community, and generally to unite behind the leadership. The government thus has greater freedom to maneuver in its allocation of resources within the society, in its economic development activities, and in its external relations.

There are times, however, when an ideology based on the proposition that only a system reflecting the population's ethnic character can properly look out for its needs and interests may become highly dysfunctional. Within an established nation-state, such an ideology may have dysfunctional consequences for two general reasons:

(1) If there are strong ethnic and cultural divisions within a state, then this ideology may interfere with the government's ability to organize the society effectively. It may in fact have the necessary resources to meet the needs and interests of the entire population, but it may lack the necessary trust of the population that would allow it to utilize and allocate these resources properly. If there are two or more ethnic groups of relatively equal strength, each may turn to its own leadership to look out for its interests and to compete against the other group(s), thus weakening the central authority. If there is a dominant cultural group and one or more smaller ones, then the dominant group may use the political system to express its own cultural identity, thus alienating the other groups from it; and the smaller groups, in turn, may withdraw their trust from the system and move toward separate development. In such situations, an ideology that separates sentimental and instrumental attachments - that does not expect the political system running the society to reflect the ethnic-cultural identity of the population in all respects - would be more conducive to the general welfare. It would permit greater flexibility and pluralism in defining system membership and recognize that a political system can meet the needs and interests of the population effectively even though that population represents a variety of ways of life, of ethnic and cultural patterns.

(2) If the state is unable to meet some of the needs and interests of its population (or of some segment of its population) adequately then an ideology based on the correspondence of sentimental and instrumental components may interfere with the search for alternative ways of meeting these needs and interests. A nation-state's inability to meet certain needs and interests may be due to its lack of the necessary resources, or to its lack of institutions for the proper allocation of resources, or

to the fact that certain functions can be organized effectively only on a supranational or transnational basis. In such a situation, again, an ideology that separates sentimental and instrumental attachments - that does not expect the political system reflecting the ethnic-cultural identity of the population to run the society in all respects - would be more conducive to the general welfare. It would permit greater flexibility and pluralism in organizing for the public interest and recognize that there are a variety of ways of meeting the needs of a population. It would make it possible for a society to work out whatever arrangement is most effective for carrying out a particular function, without the obligation of vesting all of these functions - for sentimental reasons - in a single unit that is not equipped to handle them.

The first type of dysfunction of the nationalist ideology is particularly marked in new nation-states that have not yet developed a common national identity, but it also manifests itself in many older states characterized by major ethnic divisions. The second type of dysfunction is particularly germane to our present discussion. As I pointed out at the beginning of this paper, there are many functions, which by their inherent nature and by the nature of the modern world, cannot be properly met by the sovereign nation-state. The ideology of the nation-state, however, erects barriers to supranational or transnational patterns of organizing for these functions.

The functioning of the nation-state reinforces the ideology on which it is based and makes it ever more difficult to conceive of alternative ways of organizing for particular purposes. The processes of socialization and entanglement that are at the disposal of the nation-state play a major part in structuring the reality world in which the individual citizen finds himself. He comes to see the legitimate authority of the nation-state and its paramount position as an inevitable part of the natural order of things which cannot be contravened. This view of the nation-state as standing at the apex of authority is fully supported not only by subnational units, but also by international units. The nation is recognized, within the international system, as the seat of ultimate authority - as the operative unit within the international system that cannot be authoritatively overruled.

There are a variety of other factors that reinforce this special status of the nation-state. One is the fact that it is usually identified with a common language. This not only provides a focus for cultural identity and hence for sentimental attachment, but also eases communication and creates a qualitative difference between the development of functional bonds within a nation-state and the development of such bonds across nation-states. (Multilingual states, of course, lacking this symbolically and functionally unifying force, often experience difficulties in integration. Usually, however, this leads to a tendency to seek patterns of organization along ethnic lines - in keeping with nationalist ideology - rather than along transnational lines.)

Supranational arrangements are particularly functional for the management of conflict between nations. Situations of international conflict, however, are calculated to strengthen the arousal of sentimental attachments to the nation-state, and thus to make it even more difficult to turn over any part of its authority to other units. There is a strong tendency to perceive a conflict situation as one that threatens the basic identity and integrity of a people and its management can, therefore, only be entrusted to a leadership that reflects the national identity. These tendencies are further reinforced by the extent to which the national government is able to shape public opinion - through its access to the mass media and to opinion leaders representing the whole range of social institutions - and thus to determine the definition of the conflict situation.

In short, both general societal processes and the processes that are brought into play in specific conflict situations bring about a structuring of people's reality world that favors the national system, particularly as far as the dimension of authority is concerned. We define the world in terms of the nation-state and our thinking and reactions are dominated by that perspective. The nation is perceived as a natural unit and its exercise of final authority is regarded as self-evidently right. It easily out-competes other entities, particularly transnational ones, in eliciting the loyalty of its citizens. To a considerable extent, it can take their loyalty for granted - as something given in the structure of reality - without having to create strong motivations to attain it.

The perspective of the nation-state dominates our thinking to such a degree that even professional students of international relations are generally unable to escape it. They tend to use the nation-state as the basic unit of analysis and as the primary actor in the international system. Even those whose observations are based on the behavior of decision-makers tend to assume that the nation-state is the decision-making unit and that the decision-makers speak for it. These assumptions are often justified, but if we build them into our conceptualization we are unable to discover when they do not hold and under what conditions the global system could be organized in terms of an alternative set of assumptions. Thus, our very way of studying the international system is a major factor in determining and reinforcing its character. The organization of the world in terms of nation-states has such a powerful hold on our thinking that it is almost impossible to conceive it in different terms.

These enormous cognitive barriers to the establishment of transnational institutions, even when these would be clearly more functional than national ones, are further reinforced by affective barriers to the extension of loyalty to such transnational institutions. Even when there is no incompatibility at all, in principle, between transnational loyalty and national loyalty, many segments of a national population tend to view the two in competitive terms. This is particularly true to the extent that the loyalty to the nation-state is rooted in sentimental attachments. The national perspective is so dominant that whenever an individual acts in the international arena he tends to perceive himself as representing his nation or he can, at least, be easily pushed into such a definition of his role. For example, even the specialists attending international meetings of scientists are often coopted into acting in terms of the role of national rather than the role of scientist. In short, any international or transnational role can readily be turned into a representative role, in which the primary loyalty is to the nation-state, or into a role involving potential competition with a national role.

Whenever a situation is structured in terms of a competition between national and transnational loyalties, the latter almost invariably lose out. Transnational institutions typically lack legitimacy, because they are not supported by important sentimental or instrumental links for most individuals. They do not have at their disposal the kinds of mechanisms of concerted socialization that are available to the nation-state, in which major societal institutions collaborate from the very beginning in building loyalty to the system. Educational efforts geared to "world citizenship" are distinctly limited in their capacity to create sentimental attachments and cannot substitute for the emotional conditioning and the many-sided reinforcement that underlie national loyalty. Similarly, transnational institutions do not have at their disposal - given the structure of the international system - mechanisms for entangling individuals in social roles and for creating functional interdependencies. Thus, international authority (as epitomized, for example, by international law) turns out to be, in the eyes of most individuals, an abstract, artificial construct, in contrast to national authority, which has concrete and existential meaning.

The competitive disadvantage of transnational institutions does not merely represent a quantitative problem. It is not only that national commitments are stronger, but they are in a qualitatively different position from other kinds of commitments, both to larger and to smaller units, or to units organized on a cross-cutting principle. The development of institutions for a global society requires more than the provision of new motivations and new information. It requires a restructuring of reality, a creation of a new conception of the world system, in which the nation-state is not seen as the only operating unit, as the natural and self-evident basis of organizing to carry out the functions of a society.

Overcoming the barriers to a global society.

An understanding of the nature of the nation-state and of the barriers it presents to alternative ways of organizing the world system is itself a major contribution to overcoming these barriers. In addition, however, it is important to identify and analyze existing trends that favor the development of a global society and institutional arrangements that exemplify - even if only in rudimentary fashion - transnational means of carrying out societal functions. An awareness of concrete alternative possibilities may be the best way of breaking the hold that the nation-state has on the structure of reality.

I touched briefly on the trends favorable to the development of a global society at the beginning of this article. In the remaining paragraphs let me look at some of the major directions of change that would be most conducive to overcoming the barriers to transnational arrangements imposed by the nation-state.

At the level of the nation-state itself, a potentially helpful trend - from the point of view of developing a global society - has been the steady shift away from a highly sentimental type of nationalism to a more instrumental type. This is particularly true in industrialized nations, in keeping with their bureaucratic orientation. It is also true, however, in many emerging nation-states, whose leaders are both aware of their limitations in appealing to a barely existent sense of national identity and eager to find the most effective way of improving the conditions of life in their societies. Instrumental attachments to the nation-state are, by and large, more compatible with transnational arrangements than are sentimental attachments. Instrumental attachments permit a more pragmatic approach to the organization of societal affairs and make for a greater openness to transnational institutions and organizations, if these are seen as having functional value. The European Economic Community is an excellent example of a transnational - or even a supranational - arrangement, developed by pragmatic bureaucrats because they saw it as a more effective vehicle for carrying out their economic functions than the individual nation-state.

An orientation to the nation-state that is primarily instrumental in nature does not presuppose an abandonment of sentimental attachments to the nation or the state. Rather, it implies an ability to separate instrumental and sentimental attachments so that the nation-state is not perceived - by virtue of the fact that it reflects the ethnic-cultural identity of the population - as the only proper vehicle for meeting its needs and interests. In other words, an attitude conducive to transnational arrangements is one that recognizes that the nation-state, though it may well be the carrier of one's cultural identity and valued as such, is not therefore necessarily the best instrument for achieving all of the goals of a population. Such an attitude implies considerably more flexibility in an individual's image of the nation-state than it normally possesses; the nation-state must be seen as an important, but not as the exclusive object of the citizen's loyalty. This kind of flexibility is more likely to characterize the images of those citizens who are ideologically committed to the social institutions (as well as the cultural values) of the national system, in contrast to those whose loyalty does not refer back to the ultimate sources of the system's legitimacy (see pp. 6-7 above).

At the international level, the trends more favorable to a global society can be found in the development of functional interdependencies that cut across national lines. Transnational institutions and mechanisms are most likely to evolve out of instrumental rather than sentimental considerations. At the sentimental level, it is much more difficult to overcome the attachment to the nation-state, which is almost by definition highly exclusive in nature. For the reasons I have already discussed, it would be almost impossible for transnational institutions to compete effectively with the nation-state at that level. Thus, I see little value in efforts to develop international symbols and deliberate attempts to create a sense of international identity. Once individuals become instrumentally involved in transnational institutions, a degree of sentimental attachment will spontaneously follow in due course.

Functional interdependencies or instrumental involvements in transnational institutions arise as more and more important segments of national societies become entangled in a network of international contacts and arrangements that are relevant to some of their vital needs and interests. Prime examples of such entanglements are provided by the participation of individuals in transnational organizations that enable them both to enact their professional roles in a personally meaningful way and to work for the benefit of groups with which they are positively identified. A wide variety of organizations would be relevant here, including organizations concerned with problems of business, labor, agriculture, health, welfare, education, science, literature, the arts, and religion. They may range from intergovernmental organizations, such as those linked to the United Nations, to private organizations set up on a complete non-national basis. One extreme of the range is exemplified by organizational mechanisms that are deliberately set up to manage and resolve international conflicts. The other extreme is represented by the totally unofficial and largely unorganized world-wide youth movement that serves to express the common concerns and values of the emerging generation. What is critical in all of these organizations is that they create, for their participants, strong functional ties to a global society. They become committed, in one area of their lives, to a transnational definition of the world, because such a definition is instrumental to meeting specific needs and interests that have personal significance for them.

Instrumental attachments to a global society, and the sentimental attachments that may evolve from them, need not be viewed in terms of loyalty to a higher or wider unit that subsumes the nation-state. Such a view would tend to pose the issue as one of competition between the nation-state and larger units and, as we have already seen, the nation-state has a decisive advantage in such a competition. Rather, we are dealing here with a different principle of organization that cuts across the division of the world into national units. It is not a matter of transferring loyalty from a smaller to a larger unit, but of entertaining multiple loyalties in keeping with our multiple roles in a variety of cross-cutting functional systems. Such loyalties to functional, cross-cutting entities can more readily bypass the dominance of the national system. Yet they have the effect of promoting the concept of a global society by strengthening institutions that are organized without regard to national boundaries for the purpose of meeting universal needs and interests.

One of the priority functions of education ought to be to communicate an understanding of the potential of such cross-cutting arrangements, unhampered by a fixation on the nation-state as the exclusive vehicle for carrying out societal functions. Without such an understanding the new generation will be ill equipped to deal with the realities of an increasingly interdependent world system.

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UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AS A UNIFYING PERSPECTIVE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

by

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In public discourse on world affairs there seems to be an increasing recognition that polarities like those between "haves" and "have-nots", "modern" and "traditional", "urban" and "rural", and "literate" and "illiterate", apply with equal accuracy and significance to groupings of *nations* on the contemporary world scene and to the most important and problematic *cleavages within nations* the world over. It is becoming more apparent that many of the same enduring bases for alliance and conflict exist both at the level of international relations and within national societies. What is less frequently recognized but equally important is that these parallels have their roots in a common history of relations between advantaged and disadvantaged peoples, that national boundaries have sometimes encompassed both types of peoples and sometimes divided them, and that in 10,000 years of economic, political and social development human society has recurrently experienced such cleavages - in differing forms and locations - as a major force in social change. To understand within a unified context these recurrent patterns of group life that are more relevant than ever to current events, we need a larger perspective on international affairs, one that goes more deeply into the internal structure of societies, delves farther back into history and prehistory, and sweeps more broadly across levels of institutional development and spheres of communication. Such a perspective must be based on a growing synthesis between the historical disciplines of prehistoric archeology, ethno-history, and social science-oriented history, on the one hand and the contemporaneous social sciences of social anthropology, sociology, geography, economics and political science, on the other.

In its simplest terms this view of the human condition is the familiar one of seeing present states of affairs as precipitates or residues of the past. From this perspective, it could be argued that the major minority problems in the United States today, that of the Negro and the American Indian, represent a perpetuation and even exaggeration of the discrepancies is wealth, occupation, and literacy between 18th century Europe and the indigenous peoples of Africa and North America. What began as "foreign trade" in the African case between European merchants and the friendly African chiefs who sold them slaves, and "diplomatic and military relations" in the Indian case, was rapidly transformed into an internal order of groups varying significantly in access to resources within a single national society. The contemporary problems of internal distribution of advantage among United States groups still differentiated by their non-European origin represents a failure to solve the problem first posed centuries ago in terms of international and intercontinental relations.

Conversely, the relations between England and France and their former colonies, now independent nation-states of Asia and Africa, are still understandable in terms of their earlier participation in a colonial socioeconomic and cultural system under a single central government. In these cases, what was "internal" is now "international" but the positions of relative advantage and disadvantage have not disappeared and are dominant features of their foreign relations. Indeed, the language of the post-colonial period, in which the nations that formerly held colonies are referred to as "metropolitan" powers or countries, implies some of the parallels I have been suggesting, for these nations vis a vis their ex-colonies do resemble the large urban complexes we call "metropolitan areas" in relation to their rural hinterlands. In both cases, "metropolitan" means a concentration of wealth, education, and power, and the specialized skills, services and facilities that accompany them; "hinterland" or "ex-colony" means an abundance of unskilled labor, and sometimes an abundance of land or raw materials, but a scarcity of the other strategic resources, industrial and human, on which all nations have come increasingly to depend in this industrial era.

The world of nations is becoming metropolitanized, with critical resources concentrated in the most developed nations, while the less developed areas assume the position of a dependent and backward hinterland. Thus the strains and stresses of rural-urban relations, so familiar to us in our domestic politics, are repeated many times over at the international level as well as within the more unevenly developing societies of the world. Many contemporary conflicts, whether international like the Arab-Israel war, or domestic like Britain's racial crisis or the Biafran secession in Nigeria, involve more and less modernized peoples pitted against one another in a competition for economic and political advantage or autonomy that contains many of the familiar elements of rural-urban conflicts. In these competitive struggles, the "urban" or "modernized" attitude is often comprised of contempt for the more backward people, an assumption that economic or political control should automatically be accorded to those of greater skills and capacities, and a desire to exclude the others from access to advantageous resources. The "rural" or "less modernized" people respond with feelings of resentment, envy, and victimization, ideologies of resurgent masculine militance and aggressive retaliation - which sometimes lead to violence - and, particularly where the conflict is intra-national, a desire to maintain or attain control through purely political means to counter-balance the economic and educationally based power of the "urban" group. As Americans we are used to seeing such attitudes enacted in our state and federal legislatures as well as in Negro-white relations in our Northern cities; as world citizens we can observe them being reproduced, with variations, in many other places.

The view I have presented so far is a highly generalized statement of what most of us already know about the world around us and its recent history. But I should like to go beyond the familiar to suggest that this view provides a framework for understanding the major outlines of historical development over the last 10,000 years and the residues of that development which constitute our contemporary world. From the invention of agriculture onward, human history is marked by highly adaptive advances in technology and organization, by the spread of such advances from their points of origin to other areas of the world, and by characteristic relationships between peoples who have and those who do not have access to the latest advances. Since even advantageous innovations in technology, socioeconomic structure and political organization take time to be transmitted, adopted, and incorporated into the cultures of people across the earth, human progress is necessarily uneven. At any point in time some peoples are far ahead of others in their adaptive capacities. Each stage of technological, socioeconomic and political development has its geographical centers, where its advances are earliest and/or most fully realized, and its peripheral areas which have not yet received or adjusted to the new developments. As innovations diffuse from these centers, there is contact between peoples varying in level of advancement, sophistication, and resourcefulness. The more advanced people nearer the centers of innovation, with their superior technology and organization, frequently conquer, exploit, or plunder the less advanced, sometimes absorb them and are sometimes overthrown, but eventually a subsequent wave of adaptive innovations eradicates or reinforces the boundary between backward or advanced people and creates a new set of boundaries on a new basis.

This recurrent process must have begun with the first agricultural societies in the Near East some 10,000 years ago; producing their own food through cultivation and animal husbandry rather than collecting it through hunting and gathering, they were able to form more sedentary communities, support larger populations and organize themselves more effectively than man had done before. As the innovation of food production, with its great advantage for the size and strength of human groups, spread eastward to India and China, there must have been a slowly moving frontier of relations between agricultural and hunting-and-gathering groups in which the latter suffered contempt or defeat before they adopted the new subsistence techniques. Some thousands of years later, with the rise of literate urban centers and large-scale polities in the Near East, India and China, peripheral agriculturalists, now regarded as backward, were conquered and absorbed into developing empires, and themselves absorbed the technical and organizational skills that enabled them to achieve equality or autonomy as the empires expanded or collapsed. In successive historical epochs, different adaptive innovations - e.g., the use of the horse, movable type, the industrial revolution - emanating from differing centers in the Old World (the New World has its separate development until a few centuries ago) created impermanent boundaries between advanced and backward peoples in which the themes of superiority and inferiority; dominance, submission, and rebellion; pride and envy; arrogance and resentment; were repeated.

Impermanent as these boundaries were, some of them lasted thousands of years. No wave of developmental advance reached the farthest corners of the globe, so that there remained until recently remote peoples untouched by the food-producing revolution, not to speak of later innovations. Many hunting and gathering peoples of Australia, North and South America, and marginal areas in Asia and Africa, did not receive the good news about agriculture and animal husbandry until European explorers and settlers brought it to them within the last century or two. Other areas, like Africa south of the Sahara and the Pacific Islands, had undergone the structural transformation brought by food production but lacked, until recent European penetration, more recent innovations like wheeled vehicles and literacy. Even on the Eurasian land mass, where diffusion was most rapid, developmental advances were distributed most unevenly. Thus the world entered the twentieth century with living populations representing every stage of technological and organizational progress that man had experienced in 10,000 years of development.

The point of all this is that the encounter of more and less developed peoples, with its recurrent attitudes, tensions, and relationships, is characteristic of virtually every phase of human history. What is most distinctive about our contemporary era is that rapid transportation and communications have greatly increased the rate and range of such encounters, so that now no far-off group is so remote that it is insulated from contact with the more developed societies; it must learn of its inferiority as well as of the bounty offered by industrialism. Eskimos and New Guinea natives have become only the most extreme and obvious country bumpkins in a world society in which the industrial nations and their urbanized satellites are the metropolitan centers of sophistication, wealth, and power. The themes of group competition, contempt, and resentment are reproduced a million times over at every social boundary representing discrepant development and access to resources, and the inevitable migration of labor from the less developed countries to their metropolitan nations has even brought these problems home to the most homogeneous industrial countries of Europe. What was once the special case of "ethnic frontiers" and "plural societies" is rapidly becoming the general case at both national and international levels.

This perspective on group relations past and present has been set forth here in a brief and oversimplified manner, but perhaps it has afforded a preview of a more comprehensive view of human affairs in which prehistory and the anthropology of nonliterate peoples can become integrated with history and the other social sciences, in which continuity can be established between international relations and other kinds of group relations, and in which events and processes remote in time and space can be related to the immediate social world of experience.

A DESIGN FOR A WORLD AFFAIRS CURRICULUM FOR THE SCHOOLS

by

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There is no acceptable way to construct a detailed curriculum for grades K through 12 and to put it into general practice. The large differences in student abilities and experience, the wide variations in educational philosophy and practice from district to district and region to region of the country, the disparities in educational expectations among teachers and administrators, the traditions of local autonomy, and the resistance to centralization and standardization all militate against the prevalence of any single plan. Further, in the study of world affairs, the data have such a great scope and variety that any one best selection is largely out of the question. There are more than 120 countries and each country has historical, geographical, economic, political, and cultural attributes and relations. Almost any information about the countries might be found to be relevant in one perspective or another. Far too many facts are available; worldwide communication produces a fresh supply of detail each day. How to take note of those events, conditions, and developments which fit in some meaningful framework and how to set aside the less relevant material involves techniques that are hard to learn. Thus, a school curriculum which consists primarily of a selection of subject matter to be studied at each grade level is exactly the wrong kind of device for learning how to pick and choose the important and relevant material from the vast stream of changing communication from the world at large. The obvious reason is that the selection of subject matter has already been specified thereby removing most of the possibilities for learning how to use the selection process.

What we should look forward to and what we should help to create is a very large and rich body of teaching materials from which teacher and student can select in learning the skills of information processing. Any acceptable curriculum plan for world affairs instruction in the schools must be a design having breadth and depth and permitting very wide variations in its application. There simply is no responsible way to tie a proper world affairs curriculum to a particular body of subject matter.

Should the Pueblos be studied in the fourth grade? The answer needs to be cast in terms of what it is that would make the factual information about Pueblos relevant to some particular learning objective and that it would be conceivable that Ainus, Todas, or Zulus might serve the purpose just as well. Is modern history more important than ancient history to "know about" in a world history course and should Western Europe receive more attention than China? Is a geographical interpretation more valuable than an economic interpretation? Should the histories of wars be subordinated and the accomplishments of peaceful evolution be stressed? Is it important that the content of some social science discipline be transferred to the social studies while the content of others is omitted? Is there some particular body of factual information that must be taught in the 12 years between kindergarten and college, no matter what the order and the form? The argument here is that these questions and hundreds of others of the same type are not independent and that there is no significant answer to them unless further criteria are provided. Disciplines and data are tools, we must specify what the tools are to be used for, before we have a basis of deciding which tools ought to be used.

The need for a new plan of attack on world affairs education problems has now become urgent. Whatever the virtues have been in the past pedagogical effort in this field, they are recognized now as not sufficient. The effectiveness of the international dimension in education is at a low level. Numerous evaluations of the results of instruction in world affairs, foreign policy, international relations, and cross-cultural understanding tell this story, almost without exception. High school and college graduates are shown to retain very little factual knowledge of world affairs. They do not recall the details of history and geography, among other things, and they leave the impression that they were never exposed to such materials. Large percentages of the educated population (including university graduates) remain unaware of recent occurrences of important international events and developments. Examples abound; a recent survey revealed the expected result that a substantial number of American adults do not yet realize that China is a communist state. Attitudes held toward other countries and toward international problems and relations have been found to be primitive, superficial, and highly stereotyped. Inattentiveness toward public affairs, both domestic and international, is the prevalent condition.

In general, the American electorate, the product of universal compulsory, public education, has been judged to be deficient in the ability to perform its part under the circumstances of world affairs in the present age. The national leadership has set forth the requirement to correct the condition of too much ignorance and too much incompetence in the American public. Its shortcomings will become greater as a multitude of world problems, already recognized as growing toward a crescendo during the last third of this century, become much more severe.

In part, the passage in 1966 of the International Education Act was a signal to begin the improvement in the education of the American people in world affairs. As the outlined schedule of spending for international education indicated in the Act, it was the intent of the Congress in 1966 to launch a massive attack on the problem. If appropriations are provided in substantial amounts, the question of what steps to take toward changes in world affairs education will become very important. A plan that is flexible and variable will be required. The assumption that was made above is that any scheme that consists mainly of a reshuffling of subject matter will be insufficient. What kind of viable plan might be conceived? It is this question that is explored below. The purpose of this paper is not to specify a complete design or to advance the ideal scheme but, instead, to suggest what type of an approach to a K-12 curriculum might be applicable.

Let us consider a set of guiding assumptions. Of course, any or all of these assumptions might be challenged, but the following provide a basis for developing a design for a world affairs curriculum:

1. The socialization of children takes place in the milieu of society and culture at large. The school plays an important part in the socialization of children but it does not hold the primary role. The cognitive and affective structures of children take form before the school years and are extended and reinforced subsequently by many experiences which are external to the school environment.

2. A distinctive child's world does not exist apart from the world experienced by adults. Both children and adults are the targets and the recipients of the same massive communication system and both are participants in a wide range of common and recurring social interactions. There may have been a time when early experience was almost completely parochial and when "growing up" was a matter of learning about a widening circle of people and places, but if that situation once existed it no longer prevails. The cognitive structure of even the very young child now includes some national, international, global, and extra-global elements if from no other source than television programming. Actual human experience does not occur according to strict demarcations of physical, biological, and social realms. Local, regional, national, international, and global compartmentalizations are not a natural order in life as it is lived; there appears to be very little reason to create sharp divisions along any of these lines when one considers how formal learning about the social world should take place. It follows that world affairs education ought not to be conceived as some kind of compartment that is special and separate. In particular, the distinction drawn between "domestic" and "foreign" should not be accepted as a reliable criterion in the selection of subject matter or organizing concepts.

3. The fundamental task of social studies is to sharpen, broaden, and discipline the cognitive and affective structures of children in harmony with the socialization process which would proceed developmentally even if there were no schools. World affairs is but an aspect to be attended to in the reinforcement and the refinement of socialization through school influence.

4. Because so little of the experience with the larger social, political, and economic world is direct, the individual must rely on imaginative reconstruction to fill in his cognitive and affective structures and to accomplish the development of his socialization concerning these matters. Thus, the task of education is broadening, sharpening, and disciplining the student's "map of the social world" becomes largely that of developing skills and insights in information selection and information processing. The relevant messages arise from afar (with respect to both time and place of origin) and converge in a great undifferentiated stream of public communication. More and more, contemporary man is becoming an information processor. Increasingly, his survival depends on his effectiveness in discriminating among messages arising from distant sources and on his capacity to make decisions about how and when to respond to the incoming information.

5. World affairs education is mainly the activity of developing criteria for discriminating, evaluating, selecting, and responding to useful and relevant data in the communication flow of reports about conditions and developments in the international environment. It is the development

of the cognitive map of the student so that it includes a rich content and a realistic organization for the international environment that is the goal of world affairs instruction. The subject matter of the curriculum is an instrument in this development but it is no more than an instrument. The choice of subject matter to be taught in the school depends entirely on the pursuit of this more fundamental objective.

Given assumptions of the type outlined above, how can one think in concrete terms about the structure and ordering of a general world affairs curriculum? How might abstract objectives such as that of developing skills in information processing be transposed into anything that would be teachable?

To approach an answer to the question of how to convert general concepts and broad objectives to teaching procedures, we must make some decisions on priorities. We need to ask, what is the most important thing that one must learn to understand world affairs? For the present purpose, let the following assertion serve as the answer to this question: the most important thing to understand is the set of common and recurring processes in the relations between social entities--between individuals, between groups, between organizations, between nations, and within international organizations. The key to the ability to understand and respond to world affairs is contained in the knowledge about the processes of social relationships.

These processes are complex and intertwined; they do not lie along a single, simple continuum. Conflict, compromise, and cooperation are terms which designate one dimension. The dynamics of promise-reward and threat-punishment provide another indication. How to exert influence to attain objectives and how to resist the influence attempts of others are expressions of the process stated in an instrumental form. The means employed in causing a shift of relations from force and violence to collaboration and integration are part of the process of social interaction. The converse is the process by which a condition of collaboration is transformed by steps and stages into overt conflict or opposition. The anchoring of social interaction by custom, by law, by legitimacy, by ideological convictions, and by the rules and the restraints of organizations is one of the basic functions in the relations among social entities.

Yet another way of looking at the phenomena of social processes in human relationships is through the concept of linkings between systems and sub-systems. The processes of balancing behavioral inputs and outputs within and between systems, of correcting action according to information received from the field of activity, of parallel structuring to provide factors of safety, of competitive exclusion and vulnerability to account for some relationships between producers and consumers of resources, and of the integrating of systems (or the creation through development and/or coercion of larger systems from smaller systems) provide another relevant approach to the understanding of the processes involved in the relations among social entities.

Many excellent illustrations and cases of the workings of the social processes on the domestic scene are available for conversion to social studies teaching material. Instances studied and discussed in the domestic perspective ought to be connected comparatively to instances in the international environment. Such "extensions" should take place even in the early elementary grades. In order to establish who participates in the processes and relationships beyond the boundaries of the nation, we need to establish the practice of thinking about, classifying, and interpreting the actors in international relations, beginning at an early stage of formal education. The comparative approach recommends itself strongly for this purpose.

How the use of the comparative approach differs from a simple narrative-descriptive approach can be illustrated readily. Telling the story of the people of a Mexican village is an ordinary example of the usual kind of narrative-descriptive technique used in teaching. What the people look like, the language they speak, the foods they eat, the crops they cultivate, the goods, tools, and resources they use, the views they have of themselves and others, their manner of living together, and the ways they use to govern their affairs are some of the discrete items that are used in building the story. Most often, the comparisons that give the "meaning" to the details of the story to the learner are left implicit. The comparative approach makes the connections explicit and becomes a method by providing criteria of comparison. What is to be compared involves the exercise of judgment of what is important enough to be compared. The suggestion here is that the various levels and types of actors in international affairs require specific identification and the likenesses and differences in the ways they utilize the social processes in their relationships are the major themes to be followed in making comparative judgments.

There is a clue to how the selection process works in the minds of people. Theory and research on "the structure of meaning" have set forth some primitive terms of comparison used by human beings, apparently universally, in arriving at criteria of "importance." How stimuli are recognized, differentiated, and processed has been studied across a broad range of empirical situations. The basic finding is that people resort "naturally" to a categorization that orders data in three broad dimensions: weak-strong, good-bad, and active-passive. The theory is that our "meaning space" is organized in combinations of these criteria of judgment. What we do, apparently, upon becoming aware of an unfamiliar fact, is to scan, organize, and interpret by asking, in effect, "how strong is it?" "how good is it?" and "how active is it?"

What is included under the headings of good, strong, and active will vary according to individual judgments, group judgments, cultural directives, and situational influences but the contention is that the three dimensions are fundamental and that everybody learns to understand according to the dimensions. A simple mental experiment which applies the three dimensions would seem to show their universality.

One can elicit successfully the "good," "strong," and "active" responses from a five year old child by asking about the identification of "mother," "teacher," "my best friend," "the President of the United States," etc. The ability of the young child to answer suggests a record of practice in the use of these categories. If one analyses different aspects of a public debate about some disputed issue (for example, the

U.S. participation in the Vietnam war), most of the views expressed fall readily into the three primitive categories or into combinations. The same elements can usually be recognized in even the most sophisticated analyses of public affairs in the relative weightings assigned and the combinations given of good and bad, strong and weak, and active and passive.

If we recognize the presence of the factor of change in the three dimensions and particularly in the active-passive category, we can restate the problem of "what to teach about" in world affairs area by asking what subject matter and what teaching organization would offer the best opportunities for developing judgments in children according to the basic criteria of power, morality, and change. To many students of world affairs, the most important aspect of the age is change. Increasing ability and sophistication in the making of judgments of power, morality, and change might be specified as the central goal in the teaching of the social studies.

Let us stop at this point and review in order to see how much of a structural design for a curriculum plan for 13 years of schooling we have in hand, under the special requirement that the specification of particular subject matter details is not a major consideration. We have set forth, in quick order and in brief outline, three basic elements to be combined. Our strategy is to incorporate these three elements in a single framework which is to be used in the ultimate selection of data to be taught and learned in a progressive movement from the very simple to the increasingly complex up the ladder of the grades. The choices of the combinations lie within this matrix:

IDEAS AND DATA

		ACTORS/ENTITIES (comparative)	RELATIONS/SOCIAL PROCESSES (analytic)
JUDGMENT	STRONG-WEAK (POWER)		
	GOOD-BAD (MORALS)		
	ACTIVE-PASSIVE (CHANGE)		

What all can be done in the selection of guides to teaching material and topics from this matrix will not be explored here. I believe the idea of associating subjects with these dimensions is straightforward. Let one illustrative sketch of a choice represent the multitudes of possible choices to be decided upon in detailed curriculum construction.

Somewhere, perhaps in a unit of work in the third grade, a series of process questions might be posed: How do fights get started? Get stopped? What happens if fights do not get stopped? When, if ever, should one fight? There is no question about the capacity of third graders to make cognitive contact and association with these questions of conflict and conflict resolution. They know about such things and can judge them through the categories of primitive judgment. Further, they probably can relate to the processes across several levels of society (beginning, most probably, with that inter-individual relation). There are virtually no limits beyond developmental capacity and classroom time to the applications and comparisons that can be made for the conflict process and with concrete data related to the conflict process. One can fill out details mentally of what all might be attempted in such a teaching sequence. Note simply that the basic criteria of selection are solidly on relations and actors and that the learning is focused centrally on choice and judgment.

It would be inappropriate and, no doubt, counterproductive to describe or recommend here in any detail what ought to go into the courses of study at the various levels. It seems to me that all of us in the social studies and the social sciences are inexperienced in really teaching about social relationships and processes. Most of our teaching from the first grade through the undergraduate college years has concentrated on the setting forth of descriptive details, the specifying of numerous definitions and classifications of data, and the presenting of common sense maxims, principles, and generalities. As Professor Magorah Maruyama has suggested, we convey chiefly classificatory knowledge, while we should be working more actively to utilize relational and "relevantial" knowledge.

The design for a curriculum sketched above is in the direction of cultivating relational knowledge and, to the extent that we can overcome the natural difficulties and the inertia in the situation, in the direction of exploiting subject matter to fit and to expand the growing cognitive frameworks of students. We need to face the interpretation that when school graduates act as illiterates in history and geography after years of teaching in these fields, the reason has to be that the material was not relevant--it did not fit somehow in the cognitive framework. Having failed to gain a foothold, it could not grow there. In no way does this interpretation suggest that historical and geographical subject matters are worthless, inapplicable, or inappropriate. To the contrary the problem is just that of relevancy.

To conclude this discussion, let us consider a future situation that could appear. Think of a school with each classroom equipped with a computer console or an individual solid state computer with a library of data tapes and programs. Consider a standard procedure according to which questions and issues of a factual nature would be addressed first to the machine rather than to teacher and textbook. The point of this is the change in the role and the activity that could take place for both student and teacher. Most of the conventional procedures which occupy the school day, as far as the social studies are concerned, could be greatly changed. How may we imagine what might then take place for both students and teachers?

There are, of course, many possibilities, many of which we might not approve--our judgments might run toward the "weak," "bad," "passive" kind of response. But here is a conceivable scenario:

Student: "Do you think the Russians are better than the Chinese?"

Teacher: "In what way?" "What do you mean when you ask, are they better?"

S: "Well, do the Russians make more good things for the people--like cars, movies, refrigerators? Maybe Russians have more good things to eat?"

T: "Make a list of what all you think are 'good things;' let me go over your list and then you can ask the computer for information."

Computer: "The data requested are as follows . . ."

S: (Studying the printout) "See, the Russians are better."

T: "Yes; but you still didn't check to see how much better. You didn't think to find out how many people there are in each country, how much income they receive, who gets what of what you call 'good things,' and whether or not China is making faster progress than Russia in producing the products on your list. Are you sure you think that being able to make and use things like cars would make the Russians better than the Chinese? But first you should get the additional information from the machine. You should write your questions so you can find out what the average person receives in both countries; also try the lowest 25% and the highest 25%. Do you know how to do that? Remember to convert to $ equivalents.

S: "Yes."

C: "The distribution of passenger motor vehicles in the USSR is . . ." etc.

S: "I'll have the computer compare all this to the United States. Then I'm going to try to get information on two more things: are Russians happier than the Chinese and do Russians have more freedom than the Chinese? When I do that, I am going to get the facts about happiness and freedom for the United States and Sweden too, just to make it more interesting."

T: "You can't think of any way to show happiness, can you? You can think about that while you finish the comparison for the United States on your products, population, income, and the dollar and per capita problems."

S: "I already know what to try for happiness. I'll use suicides, vacations people take, people in hospitals, murders, divorces, orphans, how long people live on the average, and maybe public opinion polls on what people say they worry about in all four countries. And, for freedom, I can check on elections, voters, churches, newspapers, how many people get to travel to other countries, and things like that."

T: "That's good but you probably will have some problems. Just think about your indicators; you will have to convince me that they really stand for the things you say they stand for."

C: "The requested data are not available as follows . . ."

S: "I have empty cells for vacations, churches, and polls for the Peoples Republic of China. There are some funny things too in the happiness index for Sweden and the USSR. I think Swedes are happier than the Russians but the picture is mixed up. What do I do now?"

T: "Which are you going to believe--your personal impressions or your findings? You should know by now that interpreting your printouts is the hard part. There are validity problems with all sets of indicators; you will learn in high school how to estimate the probable amount of error in your aggregated data and some ways to correct for it. Do the best you can with what you have now. What are you going to do about your empty cells? You didn't get anything on Chinese vacations. How is that to be explained?"

S: "Our computer just doesn't know that. Or maybe they don't have vacations. Or maybe their government doesn't let out the information. That would be good for the freedom index--if I could find out what information is censored by the government. I guess the Chinese don't have vacations. I'll just drop vacations."

T: "It is possible that there are some data estimates on religion in China. If you want to follow that, I'll approve a question to the central network."

S: "I'll fill out the form."

Later

S: "I have everything completed now to show how Russia is better than China, but I don't think I can really decide. Anyway, the program turned out another way when I added the U.S. and Sweden."

T: "Go ahead and write your summary. Keep to the facts that you actually used and don't add a lot of statements about matters that you did not investigate. Show your conclusions but indicate which ones you are sure about and which ones are less reliable, no matter how much you like them. Your choice of the original question was a poor one but I let you go ahead to see if you could correct it. You did fairly well. Next time you program see if you can't make a series of more important and interesting comparisons. Maybe you could follow up on David Smith's investigation of laws in five countries which restrict individual freedom. Since you started on freedom, you should look into it more fully. You could analyze freedom and speech and press for maybe, ten countries in the Atlantic area and see what generalizations about legal restriction can be made for 1900 to the present. I think the computer has all the information you need."

The foregoing is illustrative of a type of inquiry that creates relational, relevant knowledge, it seems to me. Educational technology and especially the computer that will provide as both lecturer and library appear to offer many new opportunities--much instruction (although, obviously, not all of it) can be personalized by shifting the roles of both teacher and student and by making the machine take up much of the burden.

Probably for lack of any available alternative, we have long sacrificed inquiry in the social studies to the "coverage" of data. The problem is a difficult one. We need to find means to encompass even much larger amounts of data, we need to increase the relevancy of the data, we need a strong emphasis on inquiry, and we need a general framework and a reliable guide to the identification of social studies subject matter areas and alternatives for all levels--K through 12. In addition, some real stress needs to be placed on the international dimension.

This paper has sought to show, at least impressionistically, how we might begin to break free from the data coverage yoke and to begin to design a curriculum by other standards and criteria. Here, it has been proposed that the actors and the processes they employ in social relationships are the appropriate criteria for instructional choices in the curriculum on world affairs in the schools.

BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT INTO THE HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

by
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Ask almost any elementary school student to name the four cardinal directions indicated by a compass, and he will respond: NORTH - EAST - SOUTH - WEST. Unlike the Chinese who had a name for it, we do not ordinarily include a fifth direction, "right here," to indicate the spot on which we are standing. But, just perhaps, in the process of pointing out the four cardinal directions, we are subconsciously placing ourselves in the center of the universe. Perhaps, it was a similar perception that led the Chinese to label their homeland the "Middle Kingdom" and caused Englishmen to divide Asia into "Near East," "Middle East," and "Far East" according to the relative distance of each from England.

Obviously, what is "east" and what is "west" - even what is "up" or "down" - depends upon where one is standing, i.e. one's perspective. Currently, there is an effort under way in the elementary grades to make the designation of the four cardinal directions conform more to scientific practice. Asking children to learn that "north" is in the direction of the North Pole, that "south" is in the direction opposite the North Pole, that "east" is in the direction that the earth spins on its axis, and that "west" is in the direction counter to the spin of planet earth may also, unintentionally, contribute to a restructuring of children's perception of their place in the universe.

The classical Romans referred to those who did not accept Roman rule and culture as "barbarians." The Carib Indians assert, "We alone are people." The Scandinavian Lapps use the term "human being" to refer only to themselves. The Old Testament indicates that Jews have a special status in the eyes of God, whereas the Nazis claimed that Aryans were a master race and Jews were to be despised.

Ethnocentrism - the belief that your group is best and other groups are to be despised - seems to be part of the human condition. Klineberg and Lambert found its presence in all the young people they studied.[1] And Goodman found the process of attitude formation about self, including group identification, under way by age four in the children she observed.[2]

Ethnocentrism not only contributes to national self-identification, but it also sets sub-groups within nations apart from each other. For example, many Americans are not only suspicious of "foreigners" but are also suspicious of those Americans who live, speak, believe, or act differently than they. This is evidenced by the many, unattractive, derisive terms Americans use to refer to each other, including "city slicker," "beatnik," "hill-billy," "nigger," "wop," "kike," and "honkie."

Whereas it seems that part of being human is identifying oneself with a group, even casual observation makes clear that some people reveal far greater degrees of ethnocentrism than do others. Research into attitudes, values, and beliefs suggests a strong, inverse relationship between education and ethnocentrism. While it is difficult to isolate education from other variables such as socio-economic class with which education is clearly related, it is possible to assert that the best-educated of any population tend to be the least ethnocentric. Although men learn from their social environment to adopt highly positive attitudes toward their own social group, through formal education they can acquire a somewhat more balanced perspective of their own group and greater appreciation of other social groups. Education, especially when it receives support from the social environment, can and does enable human beings to reorder their perceptions of the behavior of others, as well as their own.

We may assume that left to themselves - i.e. permitting the agents of socialization to operate normally in society - most Americans will develop ethnocentric attitudes and perceptions. Rigid ethnocentrism impedes the formulation of attitudes and perceptions that are required if one is to understand and begin to act upon species or planetary perceptions of human society. Formal education may contribute to altering or influencing human attitudes and perception. Nevertheless, when other agents of socialization in society contribute to attitudes and cognitions supporting ethnocentrism, it seems reasonable to believe that formal instructional programs that seek to break the monopolistic hold of localist and nationalist attitudes and cognitions must be absolutely clear about their goals and the obstacles to be overcome. In short, teachers must be prepared to alter attitudes and impose concepts required for planetary perceptions, if students are to begin to understand the world scene described by the various papers in this symposium.

Unfortunately, many social studies teachers and specialists squirm when education is defined as a process to change learned behavior. Unlike most mathematics teachers who expect to impose math concepts and influence attitudes toward mathematics, many social studies teachers have been less sure of their goals, more "hippie" perhaps, content to let each student "do his own thing." Other social studies teachers, perhaps the majority, conceive their role to be that of confirming and supporting the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of the community served by the school. To conceive the social studies teachers' role in internationalizing the social studies curriculum as being primarily that of changing student attitudes and imposing cognitions not already part of the community culture is not the most certain path to win popular endorsement. But, that is the task. To do less than this is to continue to muck-around, mouthing pious cliches.

In the pages that follow I have tried to suggest a few ways that teachers might alter perceptions within existing high school social studies courses, if they were to attempt to build some planetary perceptions into their courses. I have not sought to conceive entirely new courses for inclusion in the curriculum, largely because this seems futile at this stage and would likely reach few students. Nor have I sought to suggest changes that might be made in all the courses currently available to high school-age students. Rather, I have grouped existing courses into three gross categories: 1) World History, including courses in World Cultures and World Geography; 2) American history; and 3) Civics, including courses in American Government and American Problems. These categories provide for most high school social studies instruction, while neglecting the elective courses that typically enroll relatively few students.

Finally, the comments that follow are suggestive rather than exhaustive. For example, no attempt has been made to redesign the American history course; rather the effort is merely to suggest some points that might be helpful for readers who wish to build an international component into their existing courses. Throughout, an attempt has been made to apply concepts suggested by the various papers in the symposium, without in each case referring back to the specific author or the page on which the idea can be found.

World History:

The two most serious problems that all world history teachers face are: 1) "How can I make my course relevant to the lives of American tenth grade students?" and 2) "How should I select and organize the content for this course to make it manageable?" The two questions are not entirely separable, for the teacher will contribute to relevance by appropriately selecting content for the course. Nevertheless, the relevance question should be kept before each teacher because, unless students see some purpose in studying the course, they are unlikely to find it interesting. "Why should I study world history ?," students frequently ask. Teachers should be able to demonstrate to their students that by studying world history, the contemporary world will be more comprehensible to them.

The organization and content of the world history course is under flux. The generalization that each generation must rewrite history fits the world history course. In some ways the world history course serves as a kind of barometer of American interest in international affairs.

For many years, the judgment regarding what should be included in high school world history courses was determined primarily by college courses in European history. Teachers were trained in such courses. High school world history textbooks were essentially graded-down versions of college European history texts. It was only natural that high school teachers should teach as they were taught. As a result of such instruction, students had a European-centered view of world history. Bombay, Delhi, Peking, and Leopoldville were studied as by-products of decisions made in Paris, London, Berlin, and Brussels.

Since World War II, three separate kinds of developments have taken place in the content of world history courses. These developments were partially stimulated by the break-up of the old colonial empires and the appearance of many new nations during the period after 1945. Even those world history textbook authors who would prefer to maintain a European focus for the world history course have taken account of these developments. Therefore, many of the textbooks that in earlier editions were almost entirely centered on Europe, now include chapters on the period since World War II, describing in particular the process of nation-building around the planet and the global confrontation between competing ideologies.

A second development in the teaching of world history since World War II has been the growth of interest in non-Western cultures. This interest seems to have paralleled the appearance of special area studies centers and research institutes on university and college campuses that were created to study the USSR, Eastern Europe, Africa, East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. The centers required college students to study the language, society, and culture of a nation or area, utilizing a multi-disciplinary approach. Borrowing on techniques used by the military during World War II, the colleges and universities hoped to prepare cadres of specialists who would be thoroughly trained in at least one of the key areas of the world.

This interest in studying nations or areas "in depth" found its way into the secondary schools in the form of world cultures courses. The argument put forward was that each child should study one or more cultures as a whole, thereby getting "inside" the culture in order that he might better appreciate the behavior of that people, and, incidentally in the process of comparison and contrast, learn more about himself.

Pennsylvania was one of the first states to introduce and urge the adoption of the world cultures course, state-wide. Certain individuals, in particular Ward Morehouse of the New York State Department of Education and Seymour Fersh of the Asia Society, have contributed significantly to the appeal of the world cultures approach. No doubt, through their efforts and that of others, more world history teachers teach units on India, China, USSR, Africa, etc. today than ever before. Recently, new curriculum development projects have been established to prepare and evaluate student materials for area studies on the USSR, Africa, India, and Latin America.

Despite the obvious advantages that world culture or area study approaches to world history seem to afford students, they do not contribute significantly to planetary perceptions of the contemporary world. Rather they undermine such perceptions by reinforcing the notion that the world consists of a number of discrete cultural units or areas that are unlike other units. Indeed, while this is true to a degree, it ignores completely the ways in which these units are inextricably interconnected.

A third development in the teaching of world history, one which perhaps has fewer disciples and far more conceptual problems, is the effort to develop a global or planetary approach to world history. Two men, William N. McNeill, University of Chicago, and Leften Stavrianos, Northwestern University, have exerted primary leadership in this effort. While various attempts to build a global or planetary approach to the history of human experience may differ in detail, they begin with shared assumptions: that all men are members of the same species occupying the same essential physical location, planet earth. The history of man should reveal the history of the species, both the separate development of individual human groups and their interconnectedness.

What would a high school history course be like that adopted a global approach to the history of man as a species?[3] First of all, the course might begin by treating the process by which man became human. Students would be encouraged to examine the anthropological and archaeological record of early man and the various hypotheses that have been advanced to explain how homo sapiens might have evolved. Traditionally, world history courses have begun with ancient Sumer and Egypt, as these centers of civilization were the first to maintain written records. But, there is no apparent reason why world history teachers should ignore the contributions that archaeologists and anthropologists have made to knowledge about early man. Indeed, as the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project has demonstrated, the investigation of hypotheses about early man can provide an unusual opportunity to make clear to youngsters the essence of social science techniques and the nature of knowledge.

Students would learn that until about 10,000 B.C., all men were hunters and food gatherers, wherever they lived on the globe; that the human population was very small; and that people lived in small bands tied together by ties of kinship. They would discover that social class, as it is known today, did not exist. While making clear to students that at one time all men were hunters, students would learn that today relatively few hunters exist on the planet, tucked away in isolated parts of the globe.

Students would learn that about 12,000 years ago, a "revolution" in the way people lived began to occur, a revolution that did not occur rapidly, but slowly over time. This change has been termed the agricultural revolution. In the course of this revolution men altered the base of their economic activity. Gradually, they ceased to be primarily hunters and food gatherers and became primarily farmers and herders. Students would learn that the agricultural revolution occurred in at least two or three parts of the planet independently. While we know most about the revolution as it occurred in Southwest Asia, we know that the agricultural revolution also occurred independently in Central America and perhaps in Southeast Asia.

The change from hunting to agriculture affected all of society. It affected the size of the population; it affected religious beliefs; it affected the material culture. From independent centers of development, the agricultural revolution gradually diffused to other parts of Eurasia.

The agricultural revolution laid the essential foundation for the rise of urban centers, centers of civilization. Civilization developed as a result of a complex interaction between new institutions and improved technology and production. It occurred first in river valleys where it was possible to support a very large population using the accomplishments of the agricultural revolution. A distinguishing characteristic of the early civilizations was the centralization of political authority and the growth of social classes. Whereas earlier forms of agriculture were distinguished by "slash and burn" techniques and pastoral-nomadism, the urban centers of civilization tended to depend upon irrigated agriculture. Slaves could be used profitably. The necessity to control irrigation contributed to the centralization of political authority. As people became increasingly interested in using raw materials not produced locally, both increased trade and warfare resulted. Some men who, like the early Roman leader Cincinnatus, had originally been part-time military leaders now became full-time professionals, like Caesar. The early civilizations were also marked by the growth of social classes: rulers, priests, peasants, slaves.

It is customary in world history courses to treat the various civilizations that arose in Egypt, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the Indus Valley, the Yellow River Valley, Greece, and Rome as separate and distinct civilizations. Nevertheless, it is also possible to imagine each of these separate civilizations as examples of a general process that developed and spread across much of the planet to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Small centers of civilization gave way to large empires, driven by the rewards to be gained through trade and warfare. But the bases of each of these empires from the Roman through the Mongol to the early English were essentially agrarian. Social classes were based on land, whether in England, Russia, or India.

The kinds of agriculturally based civilizations that first originated in the Middle East gradually expanded to dominate the globe down to the time of the Industrial Revolution. Later they receded before industrially based civilizations. Nevertheless, examples of these early civilizations and the processes they went through exist even today.

Asking students to apply some of the perceptions acquired in their study of early civilizations to areas of the world today may contribute to their understanding of the contemporary world. For example, present-day Africa seems to be in some respects a large and more expanded picture of the types of societies that were existent in the "Cradle of Civilization" about 3500 to 3000 B.C. The African continent has societies that range from the Pygmy and Bushmen (hunting and gathering communities) to the highly developed northern Muslim states. Most of Africa fits between these two extremes. Within these two extremes, Africa can be categorized into two types of societies comprising two levels of development: 1) the middle-range societies that embody characteristics attributed to Neolithic societies. They are in many ways like the first communities that began to depend upon agriculture 12,000 years ago: Communities are self-contained; trade is by barter and in nonessentials; they have a rural orientation and are politically decentralized, and 2) Societies that are organized into state systems, that have responded most to and/or which have had the greatest contact with outside stimulus. These latter states, characterized by such tribes as the Ibo, the Hausa, the Ashanti, and the Yoruba, epitomize the rapid change of some of tribal Africa since about 1850. These tribes and others are passing through a process of urbanization in which a market-cash economy has largely replaced the more familiar barter trade. Along with urbanization has come specialization in the professions, crafts, and other skills. There has developed centralized government with cities becoming the centers of decision making. Only the Hausa has a long history of literacy. The other tribes have developed a literary tradition only recently. These languages were not written before contact with the West. Africans, although not wholly willing to release themselves from their kinship relations, are finding kinship ties breaking down under the assault of the experiences in the new African cities. Therefore, while Americans are much impressed with the industrialization of the world that has occurred during the last 150 to 200 years, students should also be aware that other "stages" of civilization continue to exist in some parts of the world.

The "Industrial Revolution" is usually discussed in world history courses. Often the treatment focuses upon specific inventions and inventors, while teachers ignore the enormous social consequences of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution did more than harness new sources of power. It also brought new social classes to the fore and changed the bases of modern civilizations.

Some scholars believe that the most technologically advanced nations - e.g. the United States, the USSR, Japan, Germany, England, and France - are currently entering a new age. Perhaps it may be called the "cybernated age," as computers and automatic controls seem to be two of its major characteristics. It is apparent that the technology of the cybernated age will have vast implications for human existence on this planet. It may even contribute to man's ability to leave the planet, if he wishes. Therefore, at the same time that many nations are seeking to take advantage of the first Industrial Revolution, the most advanced industrialized states are already engaged in an entirely new venture.

The vague, generalized conception of planetary history contained in the paragraphs above will not satisfy many people. They will point out the many exceptions that can be made to each of the generalizations. They will suggest many ways in which specific human societies were and are unique. Indeed, in trying to present a planetary view of history, one must necessarily dilute the unique experience of separate regions of the world. But, if our purpose is to prepare students for a world in which they will live as adults and if residents of the planet are becoming more, rather than less, interconnected, some dilution of unique experience may be worth the rewards to be gained when students begin to acquire global perceptions.

American History:

Suppose you were to give the following anecdote to a class of high school juniors. How do you think they would respond?

Identify the nation being described:

"This nation came into existence as a result of a war of national liberation in which it successfully won its independence from a colonial power. Not all citizens of the new nation had supported the war. Many who had opposed it fled the country to protect their lives. The first political leader was the general who had successfully led the revolutionary army. He was very popular with the masses and had great influence on government policies.

> The new nation tried to follow a neutralist policy in foreign affairs. It avoided military alliances, while seeking to trade with and secure aid from all the Great Powers. Meanwhile, it attempted to spread its ideology and supported colonial revolts whenever possible. It did not hesitate to annex territory by treaty and by war; it oppressed its own minority groups; and it looked for ways to limit political opposition at home."

Few students will guess that the anecdote describes the United States, because it is couched in terms more often used to describe new nations today. Students recognize George Washington as the "father of his country" but are unlikely to perceive him as the charismatic, military leader who was the most "available" of all the revolutionary leaders to lead the new nation. Students normally think of the United States and the USSR as "Great Powers"; they do not recognize that less than 200 years ago the United States was a small power buffeted by "Great Powers" France and England.

The point of the anecdote is that the meaning a person derives from his observation depends in large measure upon the images in his mind. Since high school juniors learn to view United States history as the unique experience of a unique people, they are unprepared to consider United States history in terms of the mainstream of planetary history. Of course, United States history, as is true of the history of any group of people, is the story of unique experience and unique people. There was only one George Washington, only one Declaration of Independence in 1776, etc. Nevertheless, treating U.S. history as only a unique experience prevents a student from recognizing that in general, and often more fundamental ways, the history of his nation is very similar to that of other nations. Other nations in this hemisphere had similar, if not identical, experiences. They too were settled by Europeans who exerted political domination over indiginous populations. While the length of colonial status has varied from one nation to another, the vast majority have since gained independent status.

It is hardly surprising that American national history has lacked international perceptions. As is true with national histories of other nations, United States history is generally taught so as to build pride and loyalty in what is American, not in what Americans share with other residents of the planet. Even this goal has not been met successfully, as we become increasingly aware that American history as generally taught has been primarily the history of American white people. Black people, American Indians, etc., have been victims of bias, distortion and omission in most school textbooks.

The problem of bias, distortion, and omission is not only present in U.S. history textbooks when American minority sub-cultures are treated, but this problem exists when treating U.S. relations with other nations. Consequently, the study of U.S. history, as it is taught presently, may contribute to students' ethnocentrism rather than undercut it.

In The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding,[5] Ray Billington and a team of American, Canadian, and English historians describe the results of their investigation into national bias in English, Canadian, and American history textbooks. They found much to criticize in the textbooks of the three countries. Myths and folk-tales that have long been discredited continue to be reported as fact. Some textbook authors exaggerate the military victories, heroism and valor of their citizens, play down the efforts of allied nations and stress the dastardly deeds of opponents. Contributions made by citizens of other nations to joint projects or to furthering the welfare of mankind are overlooked, while the efforts of nationals are presented out of proportion to their real contribution. The results of such distortions in history teaching promote ethnocentric attitudes and perceptions among American youth.

One effort currently under way to counter this tendency is the International Textbook Project.[6] This project, co-sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Service Center for Teachers of History of the American Historical Association and drawing on the support of a number of scholars from the United States and abroad, will produce a reference book containing translations from textbooks of other countries that is intended to be used as a supplementary text for high school courses in American history. This book, tentatively titled How Others See Us and soon to be published by Houghton Mifflin, contains selections from the secondary school history textbooks of 34 nations. The various selections have been translated, edited, and selected to match key topics in American history. Students can learn for example what Mexican textbooks say about the Mexican War, what Panamanian and Colombian textbooks contain about the building of the Panama Canal.

The sponsors of the Project hope that American students, who will use this supplementary text in order to learn how children of other nations interpret events from American history, will become more conscious of examples of national bias and distortion in their own textbooks; in addition, the book may contribute to new perceptions by students regarding the role of the United States in world affairs. For example, the following quote is taken from a French selection in a chapter on American culture to appear in the forthcoming book:

> "...The ascension of the United States to first rank is accompanied by a progression of their influence in the hierarchy of values in civilization. They are taking a more and more active part in the building of western civilization of which they are now one of the centers. But this is not all. The current of exchange between Europe and America has been reversed in several fields; while over a period of some centuries America looked to Europe for inspiration, for models, it often happens today that the initiative comes from beyond the Atlantic: for the cinema, the novel, the theatre, architecture, sociology, the humanities, or the natural sciences, the techniques of production or the arrangement of daily living, for "style of life," American civilization is in process of becoming a model the

> attraction of which does not cease to grow beyond the frontiers of the American union.... The eventuality that American civilization may become one day the universal civilization is not at all inconceivable."

One can only speculate what influence quotes such as these might have on the perceptions of American high school students. It could further the "I am the greatest" syndrome that marks the ethnocentric personality; on the other hand it may open a student's eyes enabling him to see the degree to which his nation and national culture have become part of the world experience.

Perhaps, one of the most important contributions American history teachers can make to helping students understand the nature of the contemporary world is by avoiding the temptation to overstress the uniformity in contemporary American culture. The fact is that there is not one American life-style today, if there ever was. Culture gaps exist within the American nation as they exist among nations. Some Americans today live truly an international existence. As Robert Harper has stated elsewhere in this symposium, there are today two perspectives of human life: one, a traditional locally based culture, the other, a new world-wide interconnected system. The first continues to draw its sustenance locally. People do not travel far from home. Their contact with the outside world is via television, newspapers, and magazines. Much of what they see seems strange and threatening. Other Americans are already full participants in the worldwide interconnected system. They are equally at home in London, Tokyo, Paris or New York. They have friends and colleagues scattered in nations all across the planet. Events abroad touch them as quickly and significantly as a disaster within the United States.

In many ways those two groups of Americans have little in common beyond their loyalty and pride in the same national state. Their lifestyles are different; their perceptions of the world are dissimilar. The first is likely to be highly ethnocentric; the latter impatient with his more backward cousin. Each group should learn about the other. American history courses tend to serve and to describe primarily the traditional, locally based clients of the schools. This is true not only because of past tradition but because these clients presently constitute a majority. Nevertheless, the task of education is not primarily a process of informing a student about himself, but it is essentially revealing to him what he is not and what he is in the process of becoming. Because the adult experience of many, perhaps a majority, of American youth will be rooted in two cultures, one international, the other local, it is important that American history teachers begin to provide instruction relating to the attitudes and cognitions that life in the two cultures will require.

Civics:

Probably the single, most frequently stated social studies objective is "to prepare students for responsible citizenship." Every social studies course in the curriculum is presumed to contribute to this goal in some manner. Nevertheless, three high school social studies courses have been viewed as having a special responsibility for citizenship education. These courses are Civics (usually offered at the ninth grade), American Government (either an eleventh or twelfth grade course), and American Problems (primarily a twelfth grade course). While other courses, e.g. International Relations, Economics, Comparative Politics, also exist, they are offered less frequently and reach much fewer students than do Civics, American Government, and American Problems. Therefore, this section is devoted to the three courses that carry a particular burden for citizenship education.

Earlier in the century when a smaller percentage of students completed high school, the ninth-grade course in Civics was viewed as an opportunity to provide citizenship training for those who would be unlikely to receive additional formal education. (In some cities it continues to serve this function, as college-preparatory students are often assigned to courses other than Civics.) Civics informed youngsters about their political system and inducted them into the political culture. In part the course served as an "Americanization" course for children of immigrant families who were crowding into the schools during the first third of the twentieth century.

Over the years the Civics course has changed. Since becoming a citizen came to be recognized as a multi-faceted endeavor, Civics became the opportunity to teach health, vocational guidance, driver's education, consumer economics, as well as important data about local, state and national government. The resultant clutter that marked many ninth-grade Civics courses, the decline in the relative importance of socializing first generation Americans and the increased holding power of the schools have combined to bring a decline in status of ninth-grade Civics instruction. In some schools Civics has been replaced by World Geography or World History; in other schools many students no longer enroll in a course at the ninth grade but substitute courses in science, math or foreign languages.

The need to change or improve what is currently being done in ninth-grade Civics can hardly be denied. Research by social scientists on the topic of political socialization suggests that much of what is currently taught in ninth-grade Civics is already possessed by students prior to taking the course. Therefore, Civics instruction is frequently redundant.[7]

This is not to suggest that Civics instruction is necessarily doomed at the ninth grade; it does suggest that the Civics course may require remodeling. A course designed to teach foreign youngsters what it means to be an American is no longer necessary, if those who enroll in the course already possess knowledge about the political system and are fully committed to the values, attitudes and beliefs of the American political culture.

It might be argued that an entirely new "citizenship" course is required because an entirely new form of citizenship is beginning to appear. If one can begin to talk seriously about planetary citizenship, it may be that the Civics course that once served to inculcate the American political culture to foreign born can be reconstituted to prepare ethnocentric

Americans for the responsibilities of planetary citizenship.

What the nature of such a course might be is not clear, for the values and knowledge that will be required to function as a citizen of the world are not clear. But, if it can be agreed that the need exists, it is not too much to ask schools to begin addressing themselves to that need.

Some efforts are already under way that offer some hope, although no one is prepared to label them panaceas. At Carnegie-Mollon University, Edwin Penton and his colleagues have developed a two-semester sequence for the ninth grade consisting of one semester of *Comparative Political Systems* and a second semester on *Comparative Economic Systems*. Students learn about "primitive" (non-modern), Soviet and American political and economic systems through an examination of fundamental analytical questions, e.g. "Who are the political leaders and how are they recruited? How are decisions made in the society? Who decides what goods will be produced, how goods will be produced and for whom?" Questions such as these are transferable to other political and economic systems, thereby preventing students from becoming culture-bound in political and economic investigations.

The High School Curriculum Center in Government at Indiana University has under development a two-semester course in *American Political Behavior* for use at the ninth grade. While the course focuses on the political behavior of Americans, the social science concepts upon which the course is constructed are presumably neutral and can be applied to other political systems.

Much of what has been written earlier about the ninth-grade Civics course applies equally to the twelfth-grade course in American Government. In fact, one of the recurring problems has been how to eliminate the overlap between the two courses. For the most part the twelfth-grade government course has tended to concentrate on the legal institutions of the American political system. It has been primarily, as its name implies, a study of government rather than political science.

In an effort to remove the overlap between the ninth and twelfth-grade courses, the High School Curriculum Center in Government at Indiana University intends to complement its ninth-grade course in *American Political Behavior* (a micro-political approach focusing on the behavior of individuals) with a twelfth-grade course in *American and Comparative Political Systems* (a macro-political approach focusing on the functions of systems). During the first semester of the twelfth-grade course students will acquire a model for studying any political system while studying the operations of the American political system; during the second semester they will apply the model to the political systems of three other nation-states: England, the Soviet Union, and one non-modern nation. Presumably, this two-semester course will not only provide students with a number of concepts they can utilize in the study of any political system, but it will also provide them with knowledge about three contemporary political systems in addition to their own.

The American Problems course often serves as an alternate or substitute for the twelfth-grade government course. While it frequently includes a treatment of the American political system, it differs from the typical government course in that much of its content is directed toward certain important social, economic, and political problems that affect Americans today. For the most part the focus is on domestic problems: urbanization, civil rights, air and water pollution. Frequently, the course treats international affairs; but this topic is often developed through the perspective of an "American problem."

What teachers of American Problems frequently fail to realize is that many of the problems they conceive to be American are indeed planetary problems and could be treated in that way, adding to students' understanding of the nature of the problem while providing them a much broader perspective than they would gain otherwise.

For example, Americans do not hold a monopoly on the problems arising from urbanization. Whether the problem is one of providing increasing services to the multitude of people crowding into metropolitan areas or whether the problem is how to quickly socialize rural people into an urban setting in order that they may survive and care for themselves, the questions are nearly identical, whether they are posed in London, Chicago, Moscow, Tokyo, or Johannesburg.

The problem of how minority groups are to be assimilated into the society may assume racial overtones in one society, e.g. in the United States, Argentina, and South Africa, or ethnic overtones in others, e.g. Canada, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. Whatever the source of discrimination, the essential issue is the same: How can a minority group be accomodated within the society in order that it has full rights with the majority without forcing the minority to yield its own cultural identity?

Just as cities and states have learned that air and water pollution problems cannot be solved locally but require the cooperation of many governmental units, so too nations are beginning to realize that all people share essentially the same physical environment. Nuclear fallout does not take place on the soil of the nuclear powers only. All nations are affected when the air is poisoned. Whether it is the conservation of the air breathed by all men or the conservation of ocean resources utilized by many nations, increasingly all peoples on the planet have a stake in the solution to the problem.

Finally, the most significant issue of all in our own time - how to prevent a nuclear war - is clearly an issue of concern to all mankind. A full-scale nuclear war between the USSR and the U.S. would not only mean the annihilation of the total population of these two nations, it would likely make this earth a dead planet. It is impossible to view the question of nuclear war as a national problem; it can only be resolved by the whole-hearted cooperation by all nations of the planet.

In Conclusion:

If one understands the role of formal courses in the social studies to be essentially one of providing students with concepts that enable them to see greater meaning in the contemporary world and of helping students acquire skill in processing data in order to make warranted judgments about their environment, it should be possible to convince social studies teachers that some concepts students need to acquire pertain to planetary society. It is not necessary to create entirely new courses to do the task. Efforts to change the names of the courses are usually not worth the effort. Course requirements satisfy functions often irrelevant to education.

Nevertheless, curricular offerings designed for one purpose can be reshaped to suit new purposes. Old courses are always in the process of subversion as a result of new ideas. This essay has tried to demonstrate that it is not necessary to install entirely new courses in order to build international perspectives into the social studies curriculum. All that is needed is for teachers and curriculum developers to begin to understand what the notion of a planetary society means. They will find an adequate number of opportunities to plug relevant concepts into existing courses, and students will begin to acquire some of the perspectives they will need to function as citizens of a world society.

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THE WORLD OF FORTHCOMING DECADES:

A PESSIMISTIC AND OPTIMISTIC VIEW

by

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In building conjectures about the world of forthcoming decades and about the unfolding of international relations we are confronted immediately with three major considerations--environmental resources; numbers and densities of population; and levels of technology as broadly defined, that is, in terms of the organization and application of human knowledge, skill and tools. Currently, human populations are growing rapidly, and in a sense, the future can be viewed as embodying a close race between numbers of people and the increasing capacity of these people on the one hand to harness the environment effectively--in order to support themselves--and on the other to achieve sufficient wisdom soon enough with respect to the management of their disagreements and conflicts and the constructive use of the technology at their command.

Environmental Constraints and Influences

In order to survive at all human beings need a certain amount of space, air to breathe, water to drink, food to eat, and temperatures that do not rise or fall beyond tolerable limits. Beyond these minimal requirements human beings normally seek other resources in order to enhance their enjoyment of life and their general well-being. They do not thrive on a bare minimum of resources. They require certain surpluses of space, resources and benefactions in order to flourish.

The earth and the atmospheric envelope around it provide these various resources in finite amounts. Many of these elements, moreover, are not evenly distributed--water, for example, and arable land being more abundant in some regions than in others. Even the air varies in density, and more and more we find that it varies in purity--some of it bearing impurities to the point of becoming toxic to the human system.

Since these elements are finite, and unevenly distributed, there is only so much to go around--and less in some places than in others. These considerations give rise to conflict. Men have fought and tortured and killed each other for possession of territory and resources since long before the dawn of history.

It is self-evident that two or more human beings cannot occupy the same space at the same time, nor can they consume the same unit of air or water or food or other resources at the same time--except, in some instances, by special cooperative arrangement, as when two or more people warm themselves by the same fire or read by the same candle or are transported by the same vehicle drawn by the same beast or propelled by the same fuel. Even in these instances, the possibilities of sharing are finite and limited--the consumption of a resource by one cooperating group making it impossible for any other individual or group to consume that resource.

Traditionally, human beings have managed their conflicts over the occupancy of space and the consuming of resources in two major ways: (1) they have fought it out--often killing each other in large numbers; or (2) they have organized in order to divide space and allocate, exchange and optimize resources according to some plan--and also they have organized in order to transform the environment in various ways, maximizing resources so that there will be more to go around, and so that benefits will be enhanced.

But this is an over-simplification.

In fact, the distinction between human conflict and human organization is not clear cut. The two phenomena are not mutually exclusive. There is organization in conflict, and there is conflict in organization. However, by organizing, human beings normally limit their conflicts, confining them and working them out within recognized, more or less agreed upon channels. By organizing, they establish rules for governing conflicts, courts for deciding them, and legitimatized instruments of force for compelling observance.

In general, a small number of people have fewer conflicts than a larger number of people. If they fight it out, they inflict fewer casualties. And if they organize, they require a smaller and generally less complex government and bureaucratic apparatus than do a large number of people when they organize.

It seems safe to postulate that the greater the number of people, the closer their quarters and the more numerous and intense their interactions, the more conflicts there will be. Under these circumstances, moreover, the conflicts will tend to be more lethal--unless they are contained by organization. And if the conflicts are contained by organization, then the greater the number of people, the closer their quarters, and the more intense their interactions, the more differentiated, complex and bureaucratized will be the organization.

How much a given population is able to transform its environment and maximize resources depends upon the "hostility" or "friendliness" of the environment and also upon the knowledge, the skills, and the total technology of the people.

Much can be learned about the behavior of individual human beings and groups by focusing upon certain environmental phenomena and the ways in which they appear to constrain or influence in overriding ways the behaviors of large numbers of people. These insights derive from the observation that physical features, climate, weather, and the arrangement of natural resources frequently impose powerful limitations on human activity, or present stimuli to which most human beings tend to respond in similar ways. However, since human beings frequently alter or transform many of these factors to one degree or another, it seems inescapable that environmental variables, the number and densities of population, the levels of human technology (organization knowledge and skills) and the forms and characterizatics of human social, economic and political organization are deeply interdependent, a change in one almost always being associated with changes however minor, in the others.

Individual human beings (and also societies) vary in their capacities and dispositions, but these factors are at least to some extent functions of the total environment (including other human being and interpersonal organizations and their capacities and works) and of the individual's interactions (and the interactions of interpersonal organizations) with this total environment. Thus, human knowledge, skills and dispositions derive from human experience interacting with the environment, but changes in human knowledge, skills and disposition give rise to alterations or transformations of the environment--which in turn, further add to the store of human experience and technology.

An environment may be called hostile to the extent that climate and weather are extreme, or certain resources are absent or difficult to acquire. Conversely, an environment may be called benign to the extent that climate and weather are moderate or at least conducive to human survival. If the environment is extremely hostile--an arid desert or an Arctic waste--the indigenous people will have been too engrossed in extracting minimal survival from it, and it will not be easy for them to accumulate the spare energy and resources necessary for organizing themselves sufficiently to overcome and transform their surroundings. In such extremely hostile environments the rigors of climate and shortages of food are likely to limit the size of population. On the other hand, if the environment is extremely benign--a South Sea island paradise, for example, with fruit falling into the lap, so to speak--the people may perceive no need for changing the world about them, and consequently their efforts at self-organization may not advance beyond the minimal demands of the community. In idyllic surroundings of this sort a critical increase of population will stimulate competition for resources, however--thus giving rise to conflict, or to more complex organization, or to both.

Clearly, the degree to which a given environment is hostile or benign depends somewhat upon the level and density of population and upon the level of technology of the people. Thus, a South Seas island may provide a benign environment until the population grows too large for the resources. On the other hand, introduction of new technology--terraced farming, for example, or oil drilling equipment--may radically increase the benignity of the environment for the number and density of population.

Human beings living in a generally favorable environment will be continually challenged by what appear to be the shortcomings or undesirable characteristics of the world immediately about them. Over the years and decades and centuries they will try to "reorganize" the environment to suit their purposes, and these efforts, in turn, will stimulate them to devise more effective and efficient forms of self-organization.

This self-organization will tend to be political insofar as it involves relationships that are essentially interpersonal--and economic insofar as it involves the allocation and exchange of resources. The physical alteration, the re-shaping, the reorganization, and the transformation of the environment, on the other hand, tends to be considered technological rather than political or economic. In fact, these three types of organization--political, economic and technological--are inextricably intertwined and interdependent.

It is probable, in any case, that people in areas where the resources are easy--but not too easy--to obtain and conveniently--but not too conveniently--distributed will be stimulated to greater organizational effort than people elsewhere.

Whether a given environment is essentially "hostile" or "benign" will depend to some extent--as suggested above--upon the ratio between the resources and the numbers of people. If the population is too small there will not be the manpower to manipulate the environment, and if the population is too large, a mass of the population will be poor and there will be neither the reservoir of human energy nor the "capital" or minimal stockpile of resources necessary for reorganization of the surroundings. There seems, then, to be an optimal ratio or balance between the numbers of people in a population and the resources available to them in their particular environment.

An optimal balance will also depend upon the knowledge, skills and general technological capacities of the people. In general, the higher the technological level, the greater the capacity to transform the environment and maximize its resources.

Historically, this sort of "reorganizing" or transforming of the environment has taken place--at various stages of human development--in the Nile Valley of ancient Egypt, in the fertile lands of ancient Mesopotamia, in ancient India and China, along the northern shores of the Mediterranean in classical times, later in northwestern Europe, more recently in Canada and the United States of North America, and so on.

Whether the alteration of the environment is relatively easy or relatively difficult has depended to a large degree upon the distribution of certain vital resources such as the proximity of fertile land and a supply of water or the sequential arrangement on the earth's surface of timber (or coal), a navigable river, and deposits of iron. Great civilizations have distintegrated because available resources were exhausted, or because "barbarians"--people less complexely organized politically, economically and technologically--have overrun the land and perhaps plundered it and laid it waste. Something like this seems to have led to the fall of the Roman Empire: northern tribes increased their numbers to the point where their forestlands could no longer support them, whereupon they came sweeping south in periodic waves, seizing and overrunning what must have looked to them like a sun-drenched paradise.

Civilizations have also deteriorated--in part, at least--because the population has grown too large for the resources that were formerly adequate.

Of course, a highly organized people operating from a highly organized--or "reorganized"--base environment can move into a hostile environment and reshape it. For American Indian tribes along the New England and Middle Atlantic coasts of North America the environment was essentially hostile. It was hostile, also, for the first few handsful of English, Dutch and Swedish colonists who settled there. As more colonists arrived, however, and as they brought political, economic and technological organization with them, they steadily harnessed the environment and transformed it--as scattered Indian bands had never been able to do--from extreme hostility and extraordinary benignity--to a level capable of supporting millions of people in relative luxury.

More recently, European and North Americans have penetrated even into desert oases, sunk wells, pumped out oil, and thus paid for other transformations making it possible for arid wastes to support larger numbers of people. There are still desolate regions of the earth where imported technologists can achieve similar transformations.

Also, a relatively unorganized people in a hostile environment can borrow organizational techniques and organized resources--tools, transportation, capital and the like--from a highly organized people with a highly organized base. Essentially, this is what happens when so-called underdeveloped nations of the world apply to the United States, Canada, Great Britain, the Soviet Union or elsewhere for technical assistance.

Clearly, all these variables tend to be closely interdependent. Given a small population, low density, low level of technology, and low level of political organization, the people involved will alter the environment minimally. To the degree that the environment is altered, however, such alterations may facilitate an increase in population, an increase in population density, a rise in the level of technology, a particular specialization of technique, and an alteration in political level and/or forms. We may suppose that for any given environment and any given level of technology there is an optima population number and population density in terms of the survival potential of the society. Similarly, for any given environment and any given population (numbers) and population density there is a minimum level of technology required for the survivability of that society.

Levels of Integration

Elman Service, an anthropologist, infers five qualitatively distinct means of integration in human society, each arising from response to the environment and giving rise to appropriate economic, political and social forms, with subvarieties on each level: (1) familistic bonds of kinship and marriage which by their nature can integrate only the relatively small and simple societies we call bands; (2) pan-tribal sodalities which can integrate several band-like societies into one (tribe); (3) specialization, redistribution and the related centralization of authority which can integrate still more complex societies which might be referred to as chiefdoms; (4) the state, further integrated by a bureaucracy employing "legitimatized," "legal" force; (5) an industrial society--probably only beginning to emerge--which is (or will be) integrated not only by a state apparatus but also by a complex network of specialized interdependent occupations.[1] There are some practical difficulties in the Service formulation, but it seems nevertheless to provide a useful frame of reference.[2]

In this paper we are concerned with nation states--and possibly also with Service's concept of an industrial society integrated by a network of specialized and interdependent occupations or functions.

In general, the level and internal characteristics of a political system are functions of the environment (including placement with respect to other societies and other environments), the numbers and density of the population, the level of technology and the predominant techniques used by the society to exploit the environment in pursuit of its own survival. In case of a severe drop in population, the society is likely to fall back on earlier, vestigial economic and political forms (unless the technology has reached a level to enable a smaller number of people adequately to exploit the environment). Under such circumstances, the society may find itself invaded by people from other regions where populations are rising and where technology favors movement and conquest.

A true state, however underdeveloped, is distinguished from bands, tribes and chiefdoms by the presence of that special form of control, the consistent threat of force by a body of persons "legitimately" constituted to use it; force is a monopoly of certain offices; personal non-governmental force is outlawed (the presence of feud signifies the absence of state power at that time and place); the society is divided into political classes; aristocracy are the civil bureaucrats, military leaders, and the upper priesthood; there is full-time professionalization in arts and crafts and sometimes in commerce; the state is integrated by a special mechanism involving legitimatized force; it constitutes itself "legally"; it makes explicit the manner and circumstances of its use of force by lawfully interfering in disputes between individuals and between corporate parts of the society. A political system is more or less statelike according to the presence or absence and the functioning or non-functioning of these phenomena or processes. The emergence of states seems to be associated with increased production through irrigation or other means, increased centralized control, increased size of cities, and increases in communicative and notational devices (writing, mathematics). Overwhelmingly, states have emerged from conquest, coercive expansion or, more rarely, from voluntary federation in the face of a commonly perceived threat.

Land revenue societies, commercial societies, industrial societies and mixed or blended societies each seem to produce characteristic social, political and economic forms, procedures, relationships, expectations and institutions. In certain cases, moreover, commercially based states, land revenue states, commercial-land revenue states, and industrial states have developed into empires by imposing their wills upon other societies and nationalities and producing characteristic forms.

All states originate, distribute, and hold wealth in some way. In land revenue states most wealth is generated directly or indirectly through agriculture, often with slaves, serfs, or tenants. Such wealth is accumulated by those controlling the political system, usually an aristocracy or bureaucracy. Wealth may be held or exchanged as goods or as some acceptable standard of exchange. Commercially based states are characterized by the exchange of goods as the major source of wealth. This is held or exchanged as goods or an acceptable substitute. Wealth tends to flow toward those who control the politico-economic system or who possess valuable skills. Accustomed to bargaining and trading in goods, commercial elites have tended, historically, far more than agricultural elites, to adapt bargaining and trading to their domestic politics and to develop corporate bodies such as legislatures.

In any nation state the number, quality, and level of abstraction of the processes and institutions of commerce and exchange will vary directly with the size and sophistication of the economy. The more highly developed the economy, the greater the likelihood of specialization and differentiation of function among patterns of exchange and the stronger the probability that political bargaining and trading will supplement coercion in government.

Historically, it appears that industrialized societies--and what Almond and Verba refer to as the civic culture[3]--have emerged and developed in a given environment to the extent that a strong and ambitious commercial elite has successfully challenged the pre-existing agricultural elite and to the extent that these two elites have then worked out some more or less successful social, economic and political *modus vivendi*. The further development of a successful industrialized society tends to be accompanied, in turn, by the acceptance into the *modus vivendi* of the labor estate. Societies where these developments have not taken place, and where appropriate social, economic and political institutions have not taken place tend to be "underdeveloped," and in such cases the sudden introduction of finance and technology from a more advanced base is not likely to be immediately successful."

Population Growth

We cannot determine the degree to which population pressures--or severe imbalances of populations and resources--have contributed to wars in the past. Western Europe, however, achieved a respite from overwhelming population pressure through the discovery of the Western Hemisphere. For at least three hundred years millions of overflow Europeans have found space and vast new resources in the Americas. No such outlet--no such safety valve--has been available to Asia, however, where populations have been multiplying rapidly since about 1650.

Today, no such outlet is available to the United States and other western nations, either. There are no more Western Hemispheres--no more vast expanses of rich, almost empty land into which the rapidly increasing numbers of people today can overflow. Nor does the colonization of other planets offer a feasible alternative--at least in our time. There are only two possibilities facing the world today: to limit populations and to conserve and enhance the productivity of the earth.

Over the centuries and millenia the rate of human population growth increased slowly--almost imperceptibly at first--then somewhat faster, and now at a terrifying rate.

At the time of the birth of Christ there were probably about 200 or 300 million people on earth. It took about sixteen centuries for this population of the world to double--reaching about 500 million in 1650. But then, in only two hundred years the population of the world doubled again--reaching about one billion in 1850. Then it doubled again in the next eighty years--reaching two billion in 1930. At current rates the next doubling should take only forty years--four billion in 1970. By the year 2000--less than thirty-five years from now--the world's population is almost certain to reach six billion, if not more.

At this moment the population of the world is increasing at the rate of 50 million a year. . .140,000 (the size of a small city) every 24 hours. . . 6,000 per hour. . . or, as pointed out by Sir Julian Huxley, at the rate of "ten baseball teams complete with coach every minute."[5]

These figures are not babies born per year or per day or per hour or per minute. These figures represent the net increase, that is, each morning when we wake up there are approximately 140,000 more people in the world than there were the previous morning. And each New Year's Day there are 50 million more people in the world than there were on the same day the year before.

According to one source, "At current growth rates, the population of the United States would outweigh the earth in 2500 years. . ."[6] This is quite apart from what is happening even faster in other regions of the world.

But this is roughly no more than half the difficulty. We would be in trouble enough if the resources of the earth were remaining constant. Unfortunately, they are not. The candle of the good life is melting away at both ends. As the population increases, we tend at the same time more and more to deplete the earth. More and more we have been over exploiting our resources, despoiling the planet. We have ruined soils, hacked down the forests, and given rise to drought, floods, erosion and leaching of the earth. Even the water and the air--once viewed as infinite and free--have been polluted and befouled. We all know what has happened to San Francisco Bay. Now a body of water the size of Lake Erie has been pronounced "dead" by competent authority. The air we breathe is increasingly contaminated. In some places it eats holes in nylon stockings. What it does to our lungs is not pleasant to contemplate.

The twin problems of expanding population and contracting resources dwarf all other problems that confront us--or ought to. It is one of the bitter ironies of our time that modern nations indulge themselves in petty ideological wars while this awesome time bomb of population imbalance ticks away.

Large cities of the world are rapidly devolving into monstrosities and people fleeing from them spill out farther and farther into once open spaces--and rapidly encrust the countryside with the concrete and steel and tarmac of what Huxley has called subtopia.

We may expect the growth of huge cities of thirty or forty million and vast urban belts such as those already emerging between Boston and

Washington and between San Francisco and San Diego. To provide space, food, water, air, housing, sanitation, disposal of waste, and medical facilities for all of us in these cities and urban belts will be no mean task--to say nothing of transportation, education, recreation and some minimum of individual initiative, independence and privacy.

It seems safe to predict that space, air, water, forests and soil will become extremely precious resources, but our lives will almost certainly have to be reorganized in other ways, too. Haphazardly built towns and cities will have to go. Our present gas burners will have to be banished from the streets and highways. Public transportation facilities and traffic patterns by land and sea and air will have to be re-thought out and re-designed and re-organized. Junk heaps will have to be outlawed: every resource will be used and re-used and used again. We shall have to explore and harvest the ocean and find ways to distribute the crops. More than has been achieved so far, the technologically advanced people of the earth will have to make their knowledge and skills available for transforming as many as possible of the under-developed parts of the world.

There will be changes in our political and economic organizations and frequently we in the West will be hard put to achieve these changes without damaging our basic democratic values. To preserve or enhance the dignity and psychological well-being of the individual human being will be increasingly difficult as a higher and higher premium is placed upon space and privacy and as family, small town and intimate neighborhood patterns and benefactions become more and more difficult to maintain. Unless conscious counter-measures are undertaken, the individual may become lost--psychologically, if not socially--in a sea of numbers.

Inescapably, there will be changes in our most intimate habits and patterns of living.

It is not enough to have a pill. People must be willing to take it--in many cases not merely to prevent the birth of unwanted children but also to prevent the birth of deeply wanted, even longed-for children. This, in many instances, will be an unhappy, even cruel responsibility and sacrifice. The time may not be far off when some societies, at least, may find themselves forced to tax families for more than a minimal number of offspring. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that certain nation states may find themselves pressed by unyielding circumstances into an extraordinary invasion of human privacy--the limiting of births by legal ordinance, with severe penalties for infraction. Such eventualities might well open up a Pandora's box of further difficulties.

In any case, it seems probable that the greater the number of people and the less their elbow-room and the more intense their interactions, the more likely are to be the numbers of laws, rules, regulations and other public restraints; the more the service and welfare functions of the state; the greater the number of bureaucratic units and echelons; the more the mechanized, computerized, and cyberneticized functions; and the more frequent and deeper the intrusions of the state upon individual privacy. As populations increase, those of us who long for the relatively unrestricted, independent, decentralized and localized society of our forefathers are likely to be more and more disappointed, disillusioned and frustrated. The simple, homely frontier life is gone forever--overwhelmed and blotted out by sheer numbers of people. Social security numbers and zip codes are probably no more than preliminary irritations.

Special efforts will have to be made to safeguard the individual, protect him from anomie and other psychological and social malaise and enhance his capacity for participating and contributing.

The United States and several other nations are fortunate in that they have "turn-around time," that is, time to begin refurbishing, rejuvenating and regulating their rivers, forests, lakes, bays, soil, air and other resources, time to begin limiting populations. We have the possibilities of rectifying some conditions within our own borders right now--over the next generation or two--and of enjoying a relative Garden of Eden while we do it.

Many other nations, especially in Asia and increasingly in Latin America, are far less fortunate. India is already against the fence, virtually on the edge of what could easily become a perpetual famine. Other nations are in similarly bleak circumstances, or soon will be. China has barely begun to confront its population problem realistically.

The peoples of the earth do not have equal access to critical resources. The earth's surface provides, at the present time, about 12 1/2 acres of land for each individual alive today--though this amount shrinks every day. But this figure is misleading, since more than one out of each third acre is too arid, cold, mountainous or salty for agriculture, or because it is covered by a city, paved by a road or parking lot, or otherwise unavailable for raising crops.

It has been estimated that about 80% of the one-half billion increase in the world's population over the last ten years took place in the so-called underdeveloped areas of the earth--the areas where resources are least available, the areas where technology is crucially less advanced. Coincidentally, these same underdeveloped, over-populated areas are largely inhabited by non-white peoples.

The potentials for world conflict are staggering.

Cynics--with bitter tongue in cheek, perhaps--have suggested that world conflict with modern weapons of mass destruction may constitute nature's way of redressing the imbalance of population and resources. In fact, it is possible--even probable--that somebody, sometime will seek this way out. As a solution it does not commend itself however, since nuclear weapons contaminate or destroy vital resources even as they trim down the population. In human terms a nuclear ravaged world will not have gained much--unless we seek for mankind what Hitler used to call euphemistically the "final solution." And even if that is what we decide to pursue, we shall probably fail since a certain number would likely survive.

Human beings have the capacity to pursue rational solutions if they choose to do so. But tasks of the magnitude of those which confront us require considerable lead time for effective solutions. Even if the population brakes were slammed on worldwide tomorrow--an unlikely, virtually impossible occurrence--it would require many years for the full consequences to be realized.

The task is at once political, economic and technological. It is also social and psychological. But technology in a broad sense--the organization and application of human knowledge, skills and tools--provide us with unprecedented alternatives and opportunities, provided we can learn fast enough to make timely and adequate use of them. Unfortunately--but inevitably--these unfolding technological developments can be used to save mankind and enhance his creativity and possibilities for self-fulfillment; or to increase his misery and even to bring about his self destruction.

Among ongoing technological revolutions with a capacity for profoundly altering the lives and fortunes of all mankind are: (1) nuclear power and weaponry; (2) space exploration; (3) satellite networks with capacity for providing "instant" verbal and visual communications over much of the earth; (4) supersonic transportation bringing all major cities of the world within less than an hour's commuting distance of each other; (5) cynernetic systems with possibilities of controlling industries, communication and transportation, urban services, tax allocation and collection, voting arrangements, police records and the like and of contributing to and vastly enhancing engineering, architectural planning, urban development, diagnosis of disease, bio-engineering, space and ocean exploration and development and so forth; (6) the prolongation of life, the enhancement of specialized functions by surgical implantation and electronic supplementation, manipulation of genetic structure and the creation of life itself.

Virtually every one of these developments can be viewed as having positive consequences or negative consequences or--more probably--a combination of both. A mapping of extreme possibilities might look something like this:

Pessimistic	Optimistic
Cataclysmic nuclear, biological or radiological war or Proliferation of more conventional and less devastating but nevertheless destructive and disruptive wars on land, on sea, in the air, and in space; or generations of cold war; nuclear or other blackmail from military bases in space; ideological warfare through control of communication satellites.	World-wide, consensual, pluralistic but effective international control and institutions for resolving international disputes --possibly with decentralized regional units for regional conflicts. Universally sanctioned countervailing measures for heading off disorders and potentially dangerous confrontations --some economic, perhaps others social or political or judicial. National armed forces as out of date as private armed forces are today--armies, navies and air forces (if they exist at all) having become a carefully controlled
Vast population surpluses coupled with continuing pollution and exhaustion of resources--at least in some parts of the world.	

Rich nations getting richer, poor nations getting poorer; and within nations the well-to-do majority gaining while the depressed minorities become more depressed. Wars of "liberation" in underdeveloped areas and endemic guerrilla conflicts threatening to escalate.

Proliferation of conflicts along a single or a few lines of cleavage, i.e., the richer, securer, advancing, healthier, longer-living and less prolific whites versus the poorer, less secure, slower developing, less healthy, shorter-living more prolific coloreds.

Cybernetic control of visual and audial communication networks around the world by a single autocratic power or two or three deeply antagonistic superpowers.

Supergovernments (or super-industries, religious, benevolent and protective associations, or crime syndicates or what not) controlling --with cybernetic aids--tax levying and collection, police surveillance, education and indoctrination, political and/or religious belief without contervailing pressures and protections available to individuals and small groups; dictatorships with almost instantly retrievable master files and dossiers for each of its citizens with vital statistics, intelligence and aptitude quotients, personality profiles, school credentials, employment records, tax status, law violations, record of memberships, associations, incautious remarks, indescretions and so forth; states or professional bodies with the knowledge and power to lengthen or shorten life, tamper surgically or genetically, and the like.

Societies in which automation performs most of the functions and large numbers of human beings are left with time which they do not know how to spend. Proliferation of neuroses and alienations.

and safeguarded monopoly of the international peacekeeping institutions for the preservation of international law, order and justice. Today's vast military technology will be converted for ocean and space exploration and colonization and other constructive enterprises on a vast international scale.

Population levels carefully regulated by region in accord with available resources and levels of productivity. Loosening of national barriers to allow free flows of travel and immigration correlated with inducements to attract populations where a labor force is needed or where the environment can support larger numbers of people.

World-wide opportunities for advancement on the basis of inherent capability and without restriction with respect to race, creed or color. Rational, world-wide, intercontinental, intercultural and international program for agricultural, economic, technological and scientific development.

Internationally regulated visual and audial communication networks serving as a world-wide free and open market place for news, information, knowledge, and culture. Strict safeguards against possibilities for monolithic control by a single nation or narrow alliance of nations.

Division and dispersion of governmental decision and control--according to function--on local (village, town, city, locality), provincial, national, regional and world-wide levels. World-wide international functions limited to the keeping of world-wide peace, international economic, technological, scientific and communications regulation and development, space exploration and control, and the like. National autonomy with respect to national affairs which

Vast cities with vast slums, poorly fed, housed, sanitized and educated.

Societies of the aged.

Disappearance of forests and wildlife except in a few, inadequate reserves in favor of vast stretches of tarmac, concrete paving and rows of prefabricated dwelling boxes. Continuing pollution of rivers, lakes, harbors, bays, coastal waters and air.

Clogging of transportation lines on land, sea and in the air. Accumulations of orbiting junk in near space.

Metropolitan social, economic and political functions are always a decade or more behind population growth and technological growth so that industry gives rise to more slum areas. Health, educational and welfare programs are inadequate, transportation facilities are a decade or two behind what the populace require. Ghettos expand in many of the world's vaster and more extensive cities and urban belts.

Scientific and technological developments proceed so rapidly that only a narrow intellectual elite can keep up with exploding knowledge and specialized skills. Political, social and economic institutions increasingly fail in making adjustments to the changing environment, and individual human beings find it increasingly difficult to adapt psychologically and behaviorally to the changes that are taking place so rapidly.

do not impinge on the welfare and security of other nations. Considerable provincial and local autonomy wherever such autonomy is functional or calculated as desirable to counterbalance the power and authority of the national government. Vastly increased citizen participation in local, provincial and even--to some extent--national governments. With more leisure, the citizen can pattern himself after the citizens of Athens.

As cybernetics and automation take over more and more of the repetitive tasks of society, the educational system enhances the capacities of citizenry to participate in the arts (painting, sculpture, music, literature, theater, dance, motion picture making), science (experiment, discovery), self government and other creative undertakings. With time, machines take over labor functions almost entirely and leave each human being free to develop a creative talent.

Urban areas carefully planned in conjunction with open spaces--mountains, lakes, rivers, beaches, bays, parks, deserts and other preserves. All wastes--water, air, food remnants, scrap metal--collected and reprocessed. Services and facilities (hospitals, playgrounds, churches, school libraries, colleges, universities, museums, auditoriums, art galleries, theaters, and so forth) localized in neighborhoods to provide ready access. Institutions designed to prevent growth of slum areas by injecting economic, medical, technical, educational, social or cultural assistance.

Cybernetics, learning theory, teaching machines and general systems conceptual frameworks will speed the learning process enormously to develop citizens who can adapt to the exponential growth of technology and participate in adapting his social, economic and political institutions to a rapidly changing environment. In addition the new learning will foster a renaissance in art, music, literature, the theater, and so forth.

From this learning and as an outcome of wisdom accumulated from practical experience, an enlightened citizenry of the world will discover how to make constructive use of bio-engineering, the prolongation of human life and the capacity for creating life. Societies will achieve a stable equilibrium of age distribution.

In preceding pages we have suggested that, historically, men have frequently fought for land or other basic resources and that population pressures seem often to have contributed to major wars. There is considerable evidence. however, that desires for power or prestige or dominance in many subtle forms have also contributed to the outbreak of war. Frequently the aggressor appears to be a rapidly growing and seemingly successful nation--a nation undergoing an upsurge in economic, technological and population growth--whose leaders (and populace, too) become obsessed with achieving "first place"--no matter what the cost. From the dawn of history war has been available and recognized, in most societies, as one means--often, indeed, as a venerable institution--for resolving major conflicts arising from a wide variety of circumstances. Conditions suggested on the "pessimistic" side of the ledger suggest a seedbed for catastrophe.

The Function of Education

No doubt the high probabilities lie somewhere between the pessimistic and optimistic extremes. It is crucial to note, however, that there is nothing deterministic about the course of development--whatever it is. Basic to this whole paper is the idea that human beings, in responding to the demands and pressures of the environment also, through their own capacities, mold and shape it to suit their needs.[7] Unmistakably, the future will be shaped, constrained and actively influenced by powerful forces--especially population growths over ensuing decades and rates of technological development, both of which are almost certain to continue exponentially. On the other hand human beings are likely--indeed, virtually certain--to intervene in ways that are not predetermined. There will be wide ranges of choice at points at every step of the way.

In these terms it will make a significant difference how human beings are educated all over the world, but especially, perhaps, in the technologically more advanced nations of the world including the United States. The behaviors of people everywhere will depend crucially upon the ways in which they are taught to perceive and interpret the universe, the earth and its envelope, the world community, their own respective nations, themselves and their families, and their roles, statuses and functions in these various, more or less overlapping or nesting organizations, milieu, contexts, or systems.

It is a major thesis of this paper that with the rapid progress in science and technology over recent generations the prevailing "world view" in many parts of the world is rapidly changing--often on a subconscious or non-conscious level--especially as advances in human knowledge make traditional belief systems untenable.[8] More frequently more and more human beings in many parts of the world are maintaining belief systems which are internally incongruent and self-contradictory --some parts roughly corresponding to reality and other parts running counter to reality or possibility. This tends to be true not only with respect to religious views but also with respect to a number of time honored scientific assumptions.

A General Systems Approach

In August, 1957, Harpers magazine published an article by Peter F. Drucker which reported to the general reader how the philosophy we have relied upon for the last three centuries, wittingly or unwittingly, is being replaced because it no longer suits the science or the society of our times.[9] The old view of the world, the philosophical assumptions upon which the western societies have largely based their thinking for the past three hundred years, was essentially "Cartesian." It encompassed assumptions which, consciously or unconsciously, the westerner tended to accept about himself, about his relations with other men, and about the universe and his own role within it.

Our fundamental modification of these assumptions has come about only within the last generation or so, and only a relatively few people have been aware of what has been happening. The turning point in the social sciences was probably in the 1940's--though the physical sciences had been working on the basis of new assumptions since the turn of the century. "An intelligent and well-educated man of the first 'modern' generation--that of Newton, Hobbes, and Locke--might still have been able to understand and to make himself understood up to World War II. But it is unlikely that he could still communicate with the world today, only fifteen years later."[10]

During the early seventeenth century Rene Descartes made two basic contributions to western thought. One was the widely accepted definition of science as "the certain and evident knowledge of things by their causes," an assumption which was popularly interpreted as meaning that "the whole is the sum of its parts." The second Cartesian contribution was the concept of the world "unified in simple quantative relations which could deal efficiently with motion and change, the flow of time, and even the invisible."[11] The development and refinement of this concept, especially through mathematics and symbolic logic led to Lord Kelvin's reassertion of Cartesian principles two hundred years later: "I know what I can measure." As a consequence, whatever contrary assumptions and principles a western man might profess, these were the ones which underlay what he had studied in school and that he tended to live by, whether he realized it or not. They shaped the thinking and to a large degree the behavior of the whole society of which he was a part.

Over the last fifty years, however, we have been moving steadily though sometimes almost unconsciously, away from the view that the whole is strictly "the sum of its parts," that the whole is strictly "determined by its parts," that the behavior of the whole is caused strictly by the motions of its parts, and that "there is no such thing as wholeness apart from the different sums, structures, and relationships of the parts." More and more we find scientists relying upon concepts that are essentially qualitative, rather than quantitative--or, more precisely, upon concepts which suggest the interacting of qualitative and quantitative phenomena. Contrary to widespread assumption, the new social sciences derive less from quantification--numbers--alone than from unified concepts embracing the interdependence of quantity and quality. The terms are all relatively new, and they tend to denote combinations of qualitative and quantitative elements. According to such concepts quantitative change achieves significance when it becomes qualitative--when the grains of sand have become a sand-pile, or an aggregation of human beings have become a community. What we confront is discontinuous, rather than continuous events, a sudden leap beyond a qualitative threshold at which sounds turn into recognizable melody, words and motions into behavior, procedures into a management philosophy, or the atom of one element into that of another.

The new world view is concerned with dynamics, growth, processes, development, values and purpose. But the purpose is not the purpose men once conceived of as lying outside the organism and mystically apart or "above" it. Today's purposes lie in configurations and organisms themselves. What we contemplate today is not the purpose of the universe, but the purpose in the universe. The consideration is physical, not metaphysical. "It is the purpose, if you will, which in Aristotelian terms impels the acorn in its long, slow but predictable and irreversable development into an oak."

Over the last generation or so these new concepts have "become the reality of our work and world." Implicitly, if not explicitly, we take them for granted even though we may not understand them or be entirely aware of how continually we draw upon them. Some of us, still paying lip service to Christianized Platonism, act on assumptions in our daily lives that are undergoing a similar transformation. At times the discontinuities and inconsistencies give rise to difficulties we do not fully understand. "We have abandoned the Cartesian world view; but we have not developed, so far, a new tool box of methods or a new axiom of meaning and inquiry."[12] Largely, we are still dependent upon outmoded Cartesian instruments.

Such was the state of affairs which the Drucker article reported on in 1957. Since then there have been increasing efforts at shaping tools and devising the axioms that are needed. We still have a long way to go but this much can be asserted emphatically: The new concepts do not repudiate the basic and time-honored canons of scientific investigation. If anything, the contemporary scholar must be more concerned than ever about the clarity of his assumptions, the discipline of his inferences, the strictness of his controls, the accuracy of his measurements, the logic of his sampling, the care with which he assesses reliability and validity. "The way is not to repudiate the Cartesian world view, but to overcome and encompass it," and this requires a continuing search for ways of analyzing--systematically, accurately, and replicatively--such elusive phenomena as quality, value, feeling, perception, emotion, judgment and purpose. It requires daring to measure the immeasurable. It is a large order.

The new, non-Cartesian world view has immediate roots that we need not trace in detail. Some of the more useful explications appeared just before and during the first decade after World War II.

Drawing from their knowledge of the physical and natural sciences, for example, Erwin Schrödinger, Lancelot Law Whyte and others criticized traditional dichotomies and mutually exclusive conceptions of material and seemingly non-material phenomena; emphasized the unitary nature of man and his earthly environment and, indeed, of the whole universe; and laid stress upon two fundamental, opposing processes--the tendency for things to organize on many levels, and the tendency for things to run down. It is from these fundamental assumptions and concepts that the general systems approach is emerging.

This conceptual framework--the general systems framework--is being used in a number of disciplines. In the long run one of its major virtues may lie in the fact that it seems to provide a systematic way of moving from organization to organization (both biological and social) and from level to level (individual, family, band, tribe, chiefdom, state, world community, for example) in a systematic way--as if through a system of conceptual canal locks. Within this framework a variety of analytic approaches can be used--the cybernetic, the decision-making, the balance (including the balance of power in politics), coalition formation, bargaining theory and so forth.

There seem to be seven basic levels of organization--static structures, clockwork, homeostatic control, the cell, the botanical level, the animal level, and man--each level of organization including characteristics from all the lower levels.

Occupying the seventh level of organization, human beings are distinguished by their capacity for organizing information into large and complex images, for using symbols in the form of language, for keeping records, and for managing a wider range of time concepts including a past far beyond the limits of his own life and extending into the future. "Closely associated with the time structure of his image is the image of the structure of relationships. Because we are aware of time, we are also aware of cause and effect, of contiguity and succession, of cycles and repetition."[14]

The multi-level view of the world does not suggest that there is an identity between biological organisms and the human community. Such an assumption would be misleading and grossly inaccurate. But close observation of behavior on all levels, from the cell to the human group and even the nation state, suggests analogies that may be useful in the study of human cooperation, conflict and organization on several levels. In discussing some of these analogies a close observer of animal behavior has written: "When studying the way in which a community is organized, one is often struck by the many parallels that can be drawn between it and an individual. Both are composed of constituent parts; the individual is composed of organs, the community of individuals. In both there is division of labor between component parts. In both the parts cooperate for the benefit of the whole, and through it for their own benefit. The constituent partners give and receive. Thus they lose part of their 'sovereignty' as well as part of their capacity to lead a life in isolation. The loss of sovereignty can go so far that the parts give their own life for the benefit of the whole."[15]

Integration and Conflict

Other students of infra-human behavior have made similar observations about species from insect to human being.[16] Analogies in various levels must be used with great circumspection. It does appear, however, that some degree of cooperation, for example, is a biological necessity both in individual evolution and in the development of organized groups. It appears, too, that some degree of competition or conflict is also present between individuals and groups--and also internally, within a given group or other system of multiple components.

These conflictual processes and cooperative or integrative (unifying) processes seem to be strikingly analogous among different species at various levels of organic evolution. "The trend often fluctuates. Death and extinction of subsystems within more inclusive systems occur. But the long term trend seems to be clear. Regressions in subsystems are usually correlated with progress of the main inclusive system. Conflict at one end of the reaction gradient and cooperation at the other end are actions selected for optimum values. Competition between part of an organism or superorganism may have a degree of positive selective pressure."[18]

Conflict often gives rise to cooperation and organization or integration, as when two or more individuals combine against a common enemy. External opposition and internal uniformity and order are frequently evident among various species and on various system levels. But conflict sometimes gives rise also to new relations between opponents, encouraging collaboration that did not exist previously. "Conflict tends to give rise to regulations and norms governing its conduct and restraining the forms in which it is being carried out."[19] Law codes and many institutions are likely to be the outcomes--and regulators--of conflict.

In lower organisms the beginnings of cooperation--proto-cooperation--is entirely non-conscious. Cells, like protozoans today, were originally separate, but some evolved the habit of remaining attached to one another after division had taken place. It was from this beginning that many one-celled animals were able to develop. Each increment in the ability of cells to cooperate with each other has increased the complexity of cell masses. The highly evolved human body is thus an expression of increasing cooperation among cells--to the "point at which, for many purposes, the individual person becomes the unit rather than the individual cells of which he is composed."[20]

In its simpler form natural proto-cooperation signifies that "the interrelations between cells, for example, are more beneficial than harmful for the individual, or that interrelations between individuals are more beneficial than harmful for the given social group."[21] In any case, individual actors--from the smallest insect to the human being--incorporate their previously separated units into more inclusive systems. "In evolutionary time both progress toward increased social and sociological homeostasis."[22] In terms of analysis, this is essentially how societies on all levels seem to have been formed.

There are obvious differences among these various levels of organization--and probably others that are not so obvious. To begin with, cells, organs and organisms are unified by internal mechanical forces and by forces exerted by the cell membrane, capsule of the organ, or skin or exoskeleton of the organism. The components communicate through channels that are relatively fixed in length. Groups, organizations, societies and supranational systems are held together, on the other hand, by habit, custom, law, common purposes or goals, administrative fiat, legal sanctions and similar boundary-maintaining mechanisms based to a considerable degree upon the communication of signs and symbols.[23] Components communicate through channels which may vary considerably in length. There are other significant differences--but many analogies.

Specific Considerations

Within the general systems framework it will be essential to focus upon a wide range of problems and processes, many of which have not usually appeared in more traditional curricula. Certainly, the educated citizen and the educated leader of the future should know something about population growth, about the ways in which population and technology interact, about the finite nature of certain basic resources about the need for resource and population planning and control.

The citizen and the leader alike should be able to differentiate between the "objective" state of affairs and perceptions of that state of affairs by various actors in it. They should know about some of the ways in which stress affects perceptions and behaviors, and how antagonists can get caught in reaction processes or conflict spirals. They should know how social and political groups and organizations from the family to the nation state are internalized by individuals, the images and values being incorporated into the superego, so to speak. They should be aware of both the positive and negative functions of loyalty and patriotism. They should be trained to look for sources of major conflict, both within and between nations. They should learn how to depersonalize, objectify and analyze competitive and conflict situations from real life (including those in which they may be involved)in terms of Actor A, Actor B, Actor C (or Country A, Country B, Country C) with the detachment of an observer from Mars. They should be aware of both the constructive and destructive functions of conflict and of social science approaches to conflict resolution and conflict management. They should be alert to institutional alternatives to war. They should be aware of the implications of relatively "closed" systems and "open" systems of interpersonal organization, of pluralistic and monolithic relationships within a hierarchy, of coercive and negotiating or bargaining or trading models of interaction. They should be aware, in short, of the varieties of dominance-submission, collegial, balance of power and other possible relationships among individuals and among interpersonal organizations, including nation states. They should understand the implications of multiple, competing sources of information and authority as contrasted with single, uncontested sources. They should have an idea of the possibilities for division of function and sharing, dispersion and separation of authority on different levels of organization from family, neighborhood and community to province, nation, region and world community--with some notion of how authority can be partly centralized and partly dispersed and how sovereignty can be divided and allocated to different levels according to function.

Above all, both citizens and their leaders should acquire an awareness of the unprecedented power that human beings have acquired through their science and technology and a profound understanding of and respect for both the constructive and destructive ends to which this knowledge can be put.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS AND THOUGHTS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE RESEARCH ENTERPRISE*

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I have just read through the impressive materials prepared by Lee Anderson and others for this Conference, and I am reminded of an adage from my graduate school days - Think Big But Research Small. The scope of the questions being considered by the Conference is awesome; my task, as I see it, is to somehow scale down these questions so that they can be investigated with the tools and resources of the social scientist. Before addressing some of the specific research issues and strategies, two prefatory remarks will aid the listeners to identify the perspective from which I speak; that is, I reveal my biases.

Gaining Command of Research Resources. Social scientists are slowly but noticeably gaining control of important research methodologies. There is a small but talented group of men who study how to study. Their efforts and the spin-off of several decades of social research have produced substantial understanding of issues in data location, data collection, data condensation, data processing, data interpretation, and data analysis. There are two implications for a group of scholars and educators, such as yourselves, who are embarking into a new area of substantive research. First, because some substantial control of methodologies has been achieved, the working out of substantive research questions can move freely and quickly. This has not always been so. In the past investigation of substantive issues had to proceed apace with methodological developments in, for instance, sampling theory, statistical tests, machine capabilities, observational procedure, projective techniques, and so forth. Certainly there will continue to be methodological innovations (some undoubtedly spawned by research into international education), but the central point holds. Persons studying international education can be about the business of formulating research questions with the assurance that if the relevant methodology is not already developed, there are experts who can fairly quickly devise and perfect appropriate tools.

Second, it is timely to begin considering the type of institution which best collects and organizes the variety of interests reflected by this gathering. If I read the guest-list correctly, there are classroom teachers, teachers of teachers, educational administrators, policy makers, and social scientists in this room, all brought together by their concern with international education. If we indeed stand at the edges of major changes in public school education, at least in regard to international education, then groups such as the one gathered here had best form new institutions which organize and give focus to the variety of interests. We tend to move in small, semi-isolated pockets, reassuring ourselves and our immediate colleagues that our point of contact with international education is adequate to provide the understanding and to initiate the reform felt necessary. It takes just one meeting such as this one to prick that self-deluding bubble. But recognizing our mutual dependence on each other is only the first step toward creating the bridges among the several professions here represented.

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* This paper represents an attempt to record oral remarks made by the author at the Foreign Policy Association sponsored Conference on International Education in Secondary and Elementary Schools, Nyack, New York, December 8-10, 1968. Comments by Professor Richard Snyder (University of California, Irvine) added greatly to the discussion; his comments have been incorporated though not always acknowledged.

The Normative Implication. There is a clear normative thrust to the work of this Conference - or so it seems to me. There is no need to spell out what is, at any rate; it should be obvious to all of us. There is merit, however, in noting that the ethical concerns explicit in a commitment to international education will have implications for the research enterprise. To proceed as outlined in Chapter 4 of the FPA Report, it will be necessary to do evaluation research - research which can measure the impact of, say, curriculum revision or other pedogogic experimentation. If different citizenship roles are the goal of international education instruction, then ways must be found of studying whether new roles are forthcoming from programs designed to that end. Such evaluation research clearly merges normative concerns with traditional research strategies. It is a type of research which requires different planning. For instance, it would be critical to know why some result did not occur, as well as to measure those results which did occur. The logic of evaluation research can be spelled out in detail when appropriate; for now, it simply is important to recognize that normative concerns have research as well as program consequences.

Some Research Problems

Finding the Independent Variables.

In survey research, especially in the field of political socialization, dependent variables are easily found. Chapter 4 of the FPA Report outlines dozens of dependent variables, for instance. The tough task is to find independent variables. And, until we begin to uncover the independent variables, we shall be collecting a great deal of data limited in its usefulness.

Take, for example, the well-known finding that American (middle-class) children form many of their initial ideas about government and the nation by generalizing from their image of the policeman. The early data which supported this finding uniformly points to the benevolent image of authority which is formed when the child sees the policeman as one who helps the lost child, rescues the frightened kitty from the tree, and helps the blind man across the busy street. The view of the policeman, then, became an important attitude tapped in political socialization studies. What we do not know is whence this attitude derives: from parental instruction? from direct observation? from children's books? from classroom lessons? And, in not knowing the sources of the attitude, we are not able to easily assess the probable impact of more recent images of the policemen as communicated over the mass media. One thing is likely - as the image of the policeman has changed, it follows the view of the child toward state authority will change. Our early studies, preoccupied as they were with dependent variables, leave us unclear about where to go next. Rigorous attention to independent variables, even at the cost of fewer attitude items on a survey, is greatly needed if we are to have any firm understanding of how citizenship roles are shaped.

There is a corollary problem to the one of locating independent variables. The researcher and the consumer of research must take care to distinguish attitude surveys of children from political socialization studies. It is simple to do the former and conclude we have done the latter. That is, it is simple to carry our attitude survey instruments into the world of the child and then, having plotted out some of his political views, use the language of political socialization theory to describe those views. This is misleading. Research can identify patterns of citizenship orientations among children ad infinitum and not necessarily know anything more about the processes which produce these orientations. It may be wise to invest some of our research resources in studies which are self-consciously about the political socialization process. This in turn may imply some variant of participant observation in the school yard, the scout troop meeting or the family.

In sum, as we embark on the study of international education, it is very much in order to proceed slowly in selecting the type of research most appropriate. It is not obvious that simply mapping out attitudes in descriptive survey after survey will move us in the most productive direction. Piling up attitude surveys can eat up research monies and not necessarily generate theories of citizenship formation. Let us not get locked into a research posture just because it is (1) easy, (2) traditional, or (3) likely to be funded. It is our responsibility, I would hold, to form and shape the research enterprises just as it is our responsibility to provide the content of international education programs.

Investigating the Inaccessible.

It is tempting to select research sites which are accessible. In political socialization work this has meant a great number of studies of students in the classroom. Selecting the classroom as a research site is, of course, accompanied by an elaborate rationale: The child spends a longer period of time under the influence of the classroom than any other single socialization agency. The classroom is the official agency of the state and thus the setting for citizenship instruction. The school authorities encountered in the classroom are the first representatives of the state known to the child in any intimate way. And so on. Although these are relevant considerations, it is an empirical question just how important the classroom is as an agency of political socialization.

What is needed is a research strategy which explores political socialization in a variety of sites. In particular, those sites normally thought of as inaccessible must be brought into the research design. For it may well be on the playground or at the scout meeting or in front of the TV set that the child develops his sense of community or justice or property. Of great interest would be to ferret out how his sense of, say, justice as learned on the playground combined with the cognitive understanding of justice he derived from his formal curriculum. It may be, as Richard Snyder pointed out, that the research problem will be solved when the "inaccessible site" is brought into the learning situation; that is, when the artificial lines between the playground and the classroom are erased. If the critical stereotypes and political categories are being learned on the streets or in front of the TV, then the programatic consequences of studying the curriculum and revising it to produce different citizen orientations will be for nought. What is needed is research which specifies what facets of the political self are learned in which situations. This of course is a common injunction, but it can hardly be overemphasized if the task is not only to map out citizenship values but also to consider altering them.

Some Questions About Research Strategy

There are dozens of overall strategy questions which should be raised and discussed before starting out on a research program. We cannot begin to explore them all here, but we can suggest a few illustrative questions in hopes that a conversation of sorts will be initiated. The larger point to keep sight of is that general discussion about research strategy at this juncture will pay handsome dividends when the data are in. To underline the comment previously made, research into international education can be thought out in a way not previously possible in social science research. The research area and the research tools are fairly well identified; the hard work of specifying research questions is just beginning. Now is the appropriate time for considering general research strategy.

Selecting the Unit of Analysis.

Sustained attention should be directed to the issue of the most appropriate unit of analysis in the study of international education. It may be that the unit most useful is the learning space of the child rather than the child himself. That is, for pre-school children we should investigate the entire family unit plus whatever influences are carried into the family from outside contacts. For the school-age children we should investigate, simultaneously, the family, the peer group, and the classroom. I recognize that this imposes a tremendous burden on the researcher. Still, it is important to at least discuss whether the study of five family units will not be more productive than the study of thirty-five individual children.

Shifting from the individual to the collective (the classroom, the family, the street gang, the scout troop, etc.) does raise the cost per unit of analysis, but it may lower the cost per unit of finding. That is, a survey instrument administered to several hundred children may produce fewer findings than a sustained, longitudinal analysis of several families. The initial investment of sampling family units or classrooms or play groups is greater than the investment of sampling individual respondents and the cost of data collection about the group is greater than that about the individual, but the theory generated may be so much richer that the actual cost of the research is less. At least this is an issue which should be raised very early. Our intuitive feeling is that the important learning germane to international understanding takes place within groups; it follows then that the groups are the things which should be studied.

One possible benefit of studying networks of people rather than individuals concerns the innovations which may follow from the research. If it is found that the manner in which playground games are structured has a great deal to do with the political categories of children, the innovations on the playground will affect the political categories of many children. In other words, the innovation can be introduced at the level designed to have the most impact. To identify this level will require studies which proceed at more than one level themselves; it certainly will require studies in which the unit of analysis can be something other than the individual's response on a survey instrument.

International Understanding - Are There Threshold Points?

An early research task should be to answer what may turn out to be the most important question facing the educator. To wit: is international understanding something which grows incrementally with each new level being a simple extrapolation of previous understanding; or, is the development of international understanding more likely characterized by dramatic threshold points which, when crossed, re-orient in substantial ways how a child (or adult) views his rights and responsibilities as a citizen-of-the-world? Phrased in such a simple manner, this question obfuscates what is surely a more subtle issue. Nevertheless, the researcher and the educator should quickly focus on the issue at least hinted at in the question. We might proceed as follows: First, investigate the degree to which there do seem to be threshold learning points. Second, specify the nature of the learning experiences which appear to suddenly push people into a greater awareness of what it means to be a citizen-of-the-world. Third, experiment with pedagogic programs designed to bring as many people as possible to these threshold points.

Conversely, perhaps it will turn out that the elusive quality which we seek ("international understanding") is best conceptualized as a continuum; some people appear to have just a little bit more or a little bit less than other people, and people move along this continuum by taking gradual or incremental steps. If the most appropriate model is "gradualism" then the task of the educator, it appears to me, is quite unlike his task if the appropriate model is "threshold learning." What the researcher can help with is specifying which model has the most predictive power. Having aided in this task, he can also help devise - or at least evaluate - teaching strategies which follow from whichever model most accurately describes the reality.

Studying the Constants and the Changeables.

The material on international education is heavily influenced by a sense of rapid and even urgent change. No doubt it is the case that more is being crowded into the life-span of an individual than used to be crowded into the life-span of several generations. Still, there are some things which are not changing. And in our hurry to study change, we should not ignore those things which remain generally stable through time. The fascinating thing about science fiction, if we take such fiction to be a reasonably accurate portrayal of the future, is not the incredible things we can expect to happen in the technology of the world but the relatively few things we can expect to happen in the psycho-emotional life of the individual. Basic fears, emotions, hopes and motives appear to be fairly resistant to radical alteration. I am, of course, raising here a larger question than I am equipped to answer, but I do think it relevant to note that the tendency to stereotype, to categorize, to view political relations in we-they terms, and so forth, is not likely to change much, irrespective of technological developments.

What might this mean for our enterprise? First, our research will have to separate the constants (not to be confused with commonalities, about which Lee Anderson wrote so usefully) from the changeables. That is, it is in order to investigate what types of attitudes and orientations will shift as the technology alters the environment and what types of attitudes and orientations will not be much affected by technological change. Such studies will prevent us from misplaced inferences about technology and value patterns. Second, and this is a notion to which I return below, some of the values most resistant to change may also be values most inimical of the social order thought desireable. If so, then the researcher may want to study the process of eliminating certain attitudes and values as well as the process of instilling these.

Investigating the "Unlearning" Process.

Some stereotypes and categories appear to be very resistant to change. They are deeply embedded in the processes which transmit the culture from one generation to the next. Take, for instance, the notion of "White Man's Burden." This is a viewpoint which is part of the cultural baggage of probably all white, middle-class Americans. It is a viewpoint to be found, sometimes in a subtle form and sometimes in a blatant form, in textbooks, TV programs, protestant hymns, children's movies (especially spy stories), Sunday School lessons (especially those about missionaries), and in the lingua franca of the adult world. This is not the place to examine how this particular myth came about nor the damaging role it has played in both domestic and international politics. I mention this myth only as an example of a value which is very much part of our culture and which is not to be eliminated by the simple remedy of curriculum reform. Attacking this myth will require a large-scale endeavor by many social agencies - churches, schools, media, and youth groups. But how are such social agencies to go about helping a generation to "unlearn" a value which is very real to its social view? One of the tasks of social research, it seems to me, is to study how prejudices and cultural categories can be unlearned. I am sure the educators have some reasonable suggestions to make. Indeed, it is likely that they face the challenge of dislodging categories of thought from the child quite frequently. My point is not to argue the originality of a position, but to alert us to the truth that instilling certain values is but part of the story. The cultural baggage formed in response to a world situation which is no longer the operable will have to be shed, and the shedding process itself will have to be studied if we are to be about that task in any systematic manner.

This raises another problem for the researcher interested in international education. I earlier noted that the normative implications of this Conference should be considered directly. The point about "unlearning" raises this question again. To attack some widely held, comfortable myths (such as "White Man's Burden") is to enter the political fray in one of the most sensitive spots imaginable - the social values of citizens. Charges of brainwashing, of thought-control, of conspiracy, etc. should be expected by any group setting out to influence the values of the young. Indeed, in some respects, such charges will be well-founded, but I leave to you the complicated task of sorting out legitimate from illegitimate tampering. What can be suggested from the point of the researcher is that the political battle itself should be studied. That is, as you engage in the task of curriculum reform or educational experimentation, you will confront opposition from community groups less taken than yourselves with the importance of international education. The generation of political tension and the resolution of political battles should itself be studied, for in the type of tension and the strategy of resolution will be found many clues to the kinds of programs in international education which are feasible. In fact, a study of some importance may be the study of one teaching agency (say, the classroom) trying to compensate for the "wrong-headed" instruction of another teaching agency (say, the scout troop) and the study of the political tensions accompanying this situation.

As Richard Snyder reminded us, the place to initiate our investigations into the process of unlearning may well be the educational bureaucracy itself. That is, the educational system may be locked into a posture which has certain implications for the type of international citizen today's youth are likely to become. The assumption that teachers know and therefore transmit and that children do not know and therefore receive may be a quite false assumption with regard to international understanding ("You have to be taught to hate" is what the popular song tells us.). Of considerable usefulness would be a study of how the structure of education itself might imply certain lessons about how people are supposed to regard other people, e.g., how strangers are supposed to regard each other or how inferiors in a power-relationship are supposed to regard superiors.

Locating the "Critical Actors"

Not all persons are equally critical to the type of world understanding implied by this Conference's interest in international education. If, for instance, ten percent of a nation's population is hostile to other races, seventy percent indifferent, and the remaining twenty percent eager to further inter-racial cooperation, a question of much importance is how these proportions are distributed across occupational, social class, political, etc. categories. If the ten percent hostiles are heavily concentrated in the teaching profession and the clergy, we expect a different future for this society than if the ten percent are randomly distributed across all occupational groups. This very simple illustration should serve to alert us to an important research strategy issue: Do we allocate research resources in such a way that persons critical to the transformation of international understanding receive "unequal" amounts of research attention?

The point behind the matter being raised here is related as well to the previous discussion about "units of analysis." We want to converge on those variables, those research sites and those population groups which will produce the most of two things: first, theoretically solid findings, and, second, but closely related, clues about how to structure programs in international education. Large amounts of research resources can be misused quickly unless much prior consideration is given to locating those variables, research sites, and population groupings. Forethought, on the other hand, will greatly accelerate our understanding of what is going on in international education. To again reiterate Richard Snyder's important observation, some attention should be given to the type of institution which can effectively harness the variety of talents represented in this room. Only if bridges are built will we avoid the regrettable situation, a decade or so from now, wherein the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.

The Durable Artifact.

Some characteristics of an alien race or of a different culture or another society are more readily transmissible across boundaries than other characteristics. The citizen who considers persons of alien cultures or nations faces a situation similar to that of the archaeologist who must "describe" a past culture on the basis of their surviving relics - and some relics survive better than others (stone weapons are more durable than peace pipes). The American child is apt to think about Africa, when he does, in terms of Tarzan movies, on the one hand, or political upheavals and military coups, on the other. To the degree that he has any positive sense of Africa, it is likely to be based on an appreciation of Africa's physical beauty or its game parks. In the normal course of learning (and I refer here to more than public schooling), the American child reserves his positive images of Africa for characteristics having little to do with the people themselves and his negative images for characteristics immediately related to a presumed "backwardness" of the people. (In this connection, research inquiring into the impact on white children of the renewed interest among black citizens in their African heritage could prove very valuable. Blacks being proud of an African heritage may communicate more to the white child than dozens of lessons stressing "how quickly" Africa is "improving.")

What a program of international education must take account of is the very uneven transmission of cultural images across cultural boundaries. Some countries, such as the U. S., apparently "export" a great variety of images; we are seen abroad as the nation in which gangsters have street wars, in which racial tensions explode in violence, in which the best of popular culture is constantly being produced, in which (or from which) men can travel to the moon, in which everyone owns two cars, and so forth. Other countries transmit a much narrower range of images; the American child's image of the Soviet Union is probably more truncated than the Russian child's image of America. Further, the censoring-screening mechanisms vary from one nation to the next; they vary with respect to the type of information they allow in, with respect to how the information is "shaped" prior to passing it along to the population at large, with respect to how differently they treat friendly and enemy nations, and so forth. Some relatively inexpensive research could be initiated immediately which begins to map out the transmissibility of cultural stereotypes and the channels through which they seem to be moving.

Related to this issue is the fact that different nations have uneven amounts of aliens within their midst. (And within nations, different sub-groups are unevenly exposed to aliens.) Further, countries are unevenly represented around the world. For instance, the British remains very visible in the ex-empire nations of Africa, Within those nations, the Britisher tends to occupy prestige positions, including quite often, positions, such as teaching and the ministry, which sharply affect the values transmitted to the young. Being of the skilled class and occupying a prestige position, the alien in an African nation impresses himself in the mind of the young. In contrast, few Africans spend any time in a European nation; if there in even small numbers, they certainly will not be teachers of the young. At best the African in London will himself be a student, that is, a person whose role describes him as there to "learn from" and hardly to teach the country in which he is a temporary resident. Insofar as aliens within a nation transmit an image of their native country, very uneven patterns of cross-national impressions are being produced by the variance with which countries are represented and in who is sent to represent them.

Conclusions

An area of research not easily comprehended by the type of issues addressed in the previous paragraphs concerns what makes the "citizen-of-the-world." This is not the time to engage that issue in all its complexity, but one remark does merit repeating. Richard Snyder pointed out that the citizen who understands his own attitude formation may well be the prototype of the citizen of the world. In other words, the citizen quality toward which an international education program may be directed is itself closely related to the social science research enterprise. For it is in the context of acting as a social scientist that we may begin to understand how we have come to believe and think as we do. Thus, to import the social research enterprise into the classroom may have far greater benefits than just the findings generated. It may produce the very set of values which the research is presumably seeking out.

To ask the ninth-grader to investigate racial stereotypes among sixth-graders may release within the ninth-grader just those critical skills which would expose his own stereotypes to himself. Or, to ask a civics class to compare the treatment of black citizens in two different textbooks may teach a more profound lesson than all the moral injunctions the teacher has the energy to deliver. To have a high school class analyze their own essays about different nations might indicate to them that their images of their neighbors to the South begin from very different premises than their images of neighbors to the North. And so forth. The activity of social science research tells us more than how to study man in society. It also tells us a great deal about the kind of man we are in our society.

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APPENDIX D

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCES

In conjunction with this study, a series of interdisciplinary conferences was held as follows:

May 7-9, 1967, Illinois Beach Lodge, Zion, Illinois

October 29-31, 1967, Tappan Zee Motor Inn, Nyack, New York

December 3-5, 1967, The Riviera of Atlanta Motor Inn, Atlanta, Georgia

October 27-29, 1968, Illinois Beach Lodge, Zion, Illinois

December 8-10, 1968, Tappan Zee Motor Inn, Nyack, New York

APPENDIX E

Improving International Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools: A Study of Research and Development Needs

by

Lee F. Anderson & James M. Becker
Foreign Policy Association

(Article appeared in International Studies Association Quarterly, Fall, 1968)

Among the changes in American life spawned by the continuing revolution in world affairs is a growing interest in the international education of American citizens. The curriculum in our schools and universities is gradually acquiring a more global focus and comparative orientation. The mass media's coverage of international affairs is increasing in volume and generally in quality. A growing number of private organizations are conducting programs in adult education aimed at enhancing the public's understanding of world affairs. Recently, the President proposed that the federal government substantially expand its subsidy to international education, particularly at the university level.

A point has been reached in the continuing process of expanding international education where we can profitably pause to take stock of what has been done and to look ahead to some of the tasks that should be tackled in the course of the next several years. The Foreign Policy Association, with the support of the United States Office of Education, is engaged in one such effort. This paper is both a brief description of what we are seeking to do and an invitation to international studies specialists for assistance in achieving these objectives.

The subject of our concern is the international education of American children and adolescents. What do we mean by international education? Needless to say, international education is a phrase subject to a multiplicity of conceptualizations. One might simply define international education by declaring it to be education about those things examined in such traditional areas of academic concern as international relations, foreign policy, area studies, comparative and cross-cultural studies, and world history and geography.

Another approach might be to think of international education as education in a particular discipline in the sense that we can speak of education in economics, history, political science, anthropology, etc.

Still another way of conceiving of international education is to dictomize the world into things American and things non-American and then to define international education as education about all things that are not exclusively American.

While something might be said for each of these approaches, none of them seem a particularly promising or exciting way to go about the task of conceptualizing international education. We are by no means certain we have done better, but we have developed the following as a tentative working definition of international education:

> International education consists of those social experiences and learning processes through which individuals acquire and change their orientations to planetary or world society and their conceptions of themselves as members of that society.

This definition contains a number of assumptions that should be noted.

First, we are suggesting that for purposes of planning future research and development work in international education it will prove fruitful to posit a social reality which can be conceptualized as a planet-wide society and to think of individuals as members or participants in that society. Such a conception implies no particular foreign policy commitments or orientations. It simply suggests that for the purposes of understanding human behavior it has become useful to think of the human species as reaching a point on the scales of interdependence, common values, and shared problems where we can analytically view the planet's population as members of a single albeit loosely integrated, society.

Planetary society is, of course, a peculiar kind of social reality. Analytically, it distinguishes itself from the world's several thousand national and local societies by its inclusiveness. Empirically, it is distinguishable from most (but by no means all) sub-planetary societies by its relatively low standing on virtually all conventional scales of societal integration. None the less, planetary society can be considered one in a species of human societies and placed alongside other members of that species and viewed from a set of common conceptual perspectives.

Second, the definition suggests that it is fruitful to think of individuals as having orientations to planetary society and conceptions of themselves as members of that society. By orientations we have in mind an individual's cognitive understandings and affective images of the structure and operation of planetary society as a whole and of component elements of that society (e.g. groups, processes, events, institutions, etc.). By conceptions of self as a member of planetary society we mean an individual's image of himself in relation to human beings beyond his national group (I am or I am not responsible to them; I am or I am not superior to them, etc.).

Third, the definition assumes that the acquisition of and change in orientations to planetary society and self conceptions of membership in that society can be understood as outcomes of an individual's social experiences and the learning that occurs in response to these experiences. That is, international orientations are socially learned behaviors.

Fourth, the definition presumes that international education in this broad sense occurs throughout the lives of individuals. The process of international education commences before children begin their formal schooling and continues after that schooling is completed.

Fifth, the definition presumes that during the 12 or 13 years that an individual spends in elementary and secondary schools there is a good deal of international education that is taking place outside of the school.

In summary our working definition of international education implies that:

1. It is useful to think of there existing a social reality termed planetary society.
2. It is useful to think of individuals developing orientations to that society and self images of their relations to that society.
3. It is useful to think of these orientations and self images as socially learned behaviors.
4. It is useful to think of an individual's international education as a process which begins before his formal schooling commences, continues after that schooling is completed, and occurs in institutional environments other than the school.

Within the context of this broad, working definition of international education, the focus of our concern can be summarized in the question: In order to substantially enhance the quality of international education that will be available in our elementary and secondary schools during the last two decades of this century, what kinds of research and development work should educators and social scientists undertake between now and then? The background of this concern is a series of convictions and judgments about both the need for and the process of change in the international education of American citizens. These can be briefly summarized.

> Given the projected shape of the human condition during the first part of the Twenty-First Century, Americans living in that century ought to be substantially more sophisticated in their understanding of planetary society and of themselves as actors in that society than is generally true of the public today.
>
> The sophistication or quality of the public's understanding of planetary society in the 21st Century will be partially influenced by the quality of pre-adult international education that is available in elementary and secondary schools during the remainder of this century.
>
> The quality of international education available to elementary and secondary school students during the 1980's and 1990's will be partially influenced by the kinds of research and development work undertaken by educators and social scientists in the course of the next several years.

> The kinds of research and development work undertaken over the next several years will be partially influenced by the success of social scientists and educators in developing a clarified conception of the structure and objectives of international studies in the schools; in identifying the kinds of research and development needs implied by this conception; and in mobilizing the talent and resources requisite to undertaking this work.

The last proposition brings us to a statement of what it is that we are trying to do in the FPA study.

First, we are seeking to develop a clearer conception or image of the structure and objectives of international education as a domain of social studies instruction in elementary and secondary schools. We are doing this by soliciting the assistance of social scientists and educators in developing reasoned and relatively detailed answers to two sets of closely linked questions:

> What is international studies? That is, how can the intellectual structure of international education as a subject of instruction in our schools be most fruitfully conceptualized?
>
> What ought to be the objectives of international studies? That is, what are the major kinds of contributions that elementary and secondary schools can most profitably make to the international education of Americans who will be adults in the next century?

Why worry about these questions? What problems justify the search for a clarified image of the structure and objectives of international studies in elementary and secondary schools? The FPA effort, like so much inquiry these days, is a by-product of social change. American schools are simultaneously experiencing the second-order consequences of these "revolutions" and "explosions" that have become modern man's daily companions. The revolution in world affairs, the revolution in science and technology, the organizational revolution, the knowledge explosion, the moral revolution--all of these characteristic forces of our time--touch the operation of the schools.

Social change breeds new needs or at least a more acute perception of old needs which parents, universities, and private groups transform into demands with the expectation that the schools will convert these into decisions creating new courses of study, new learning materials, new modes of organizing the time and work of students, new methods of instruction, etc.

In considering international education three demands are of particular relevance. The schools are being called upon to globalize the geographical focus of social studies instruction. They are also being asked to incorporate into this instruction, substantially more of the concepts, analytical problems and modes of inquiry characteristic of the newer social sciences. All of this comes at a time they are being called upon to affirm in deed, as well as word, that in an era of exploding knowledge the chief end of education is not the production of organic information storage and retrieval systems.

To be aware of the need to change is one thing; to know how to change is another. In world affairs education the schools' pattern of response to the demands for change fits very well a model of disjointed incrementalism, for on the whole, innovation has been both incremental and disjointed. To the traditional academic fare is added a bit of instruction about foreign policy; at still another time and place in the curriculum a bit of cultural anthropology; at another grade level some work in foreign area studies; elsewhere something about the U.N. and a unit or two on communism; and perhaps a bit of international relations. Of course there is no surprise in this pattern for it resembles very closely the developmental history of international studies in most universities and colleges.

A strategy of incremental and disjointed innovation has made possible the emergence of international education as a perceptibly discernable feature of social studies instruction in many schools, but not without the predictable social costs. One of these is a massive accumulation of confusion about what international education is and closely related to this a great deal of uncertainty about what ought to be happening to individuals as a result of the school's efforts to teach about world affairs. The pronounced lack of direction at the level of the school's basic organizational mission in turn feeds back creating confusion and uncertainty at those levels of decision where the specifics of curriculum and programs are determined. Charles McClelland summarizes the problem:

> Should the Pueblos be studied in the fourth grade? The answer needs to be cast in terms of what it is that would make the factual information about Pueblos relevant to some particular learning objective and it would be conceivable that the Ainus, Todas, or Zulus might serve the purpose just as well. Is modern history more important than ancient history to "know about" in a world history course and should Western Europe receive more attention than China? Is a geographical interpretation more valuable than an economic interpretation? Should the histories of wars be subordinated and the accomplishments of peaceful evolution be stressed? Is it more important that the content of some social science disciplines be transferred to the social studies while the content of others is omitted? Is there some particular body of factual information that must be taught in the 12 years between kindergarten and college, no matter what the order and the form? The argument here is that these questions and hundreds of others of the same type are not independent and that there is no significant answer to them unless further criteria are provided. Disciplines and data are tools; we must specify what the tools are to be used for before we have a basis of deciding which tools ought to be used.[1]

There have been several efforts to specify the ends which ought to be served by the schools in the area of international education. The most complete collection of statements about curricular objectives for international subject matter is found in the pages of the 1954 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, Approaches to an Understanding of World Affairs.[2] Many of these are couched in sufficiently general terms to permit being stated in a few sentences. Various similar statements issued by various educational bodies share this characteristic of being very general.

Nor is much assistance forthcoming from those who have written on the subject of teaching world affairs at the college level. Such studies as those of Bidwell[3] and of the Wilsons,[4] for example, stress the importance of teaching for responsible U.S. citizenship and for civic competence in an age of swift change and frequent crisis, as well as stressing the inherent educational values of a liberal education whose content is cosmopolitan. While valuable in considering what ought to be the general outcomes of education, these writings are also too broad to offer a clear focus for curriculum-building.

There are, moreover, divergent views of objectives which have not been either faced or reconciled. Statements by Kenworthy[5] and Laves,[6] among others, are plainly oriented primarily toward the well-being of the world as a whole, rather than the nation. Others, such as Kirk,[7] build on the premise that the focus must be that of learning to function intelligently "as a citizen of a great democracy." Educational planning will be quite different if it is based on supra-national premises, the needs of the national state, or some system which in one way or another reconciles these. Shall teaching be value-free and primarily analytical and factual in this international field, or shall it inculcate values thought to be essential to world peace? As Becker and Porter have pointed out, "The point here is that our motivations, our concerns, will largely determine the nature of the program or curriculum and the instructional materials used. If we are confused about our purpose or have ill-defined purposes, then the courses involved and their goals are also likely to be confused and lacking in direction. An analysis of curriculum guides, with respect to international understanding reveals in most instances a lack of focus or framework. Since the term "international understanding" is poorly defined, the programs themselves seldom contain clear criteria for selecting content and approaches."[8]

It would clearly seem that a clarification of the structure and objectives of international studies is a high priority task if we are to significantly enhance the performance of the schools as organizational agents in the process of international education. We realize, of course, that clarification is not a task that can be completed in the course of a single study. Clarification is a problem that must be worked at over the years, with our images of international education and of the role of the schools in that process changing with changes in the state of our knowledge. What's important at this point is that social scientists and educators be drawn into a concerted and continuing effort to explore the meaning and objectives of international studies in our schools and into an effort to map the implications of our conceptions for future research and development work in the area.

The latter suggests the second objective of the FPA Study. Assuming a reasonable degree of success in developing a clarified image or conception of international education, and of the objectives which the schools ought to be seeking, we are asking the assistance of social scientists and educators in mapping out the major implications of this conception for future research and development work when international education is viewed from each of four perspectives.

1. As a subject of curriculum planning and development in elementary and secondary schools.

2. As a problem in the sociology of educational change.

3. As a subject matter of teacher education.

4. As a domain for basic social science research.

Our efforts to identify major research and development needs in each of these areas implies a hope, the hope that within the society are available the talent and resources necessary to undertake the development and research activities required to meet these needs. A third objective of the FPA Study is to construct a partial inventory of intellectual resources in the form of individuals, university groups, schools, and private organizations who are already working in the area or who might be encouraged to undertake some of the high priority tasks that become identified in the course of the study.

To achieve these objectives, we are doing four things. We are reviewing existing literature and development efforts in international education. Several outstanding educators and social scientists are being invited to prepare papers focused upon selected aspects of international education. Simultaneously members of the FPA staff are consulting with a sample of social scientists, educators, classroom teachers, and school officials. And many of these people are coming together in a series of conferences designed to explore and evaluate the ideas and recommendations put forward in the papers prepared for and by the FPA.

As noted at the start of this paper, it is intended as both a report and an invitation. We cordially invite the comments and questions of scholars involved in international studies research. Communications can be addressed to Lee F. Anderson or James Becker, Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York.

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2. National Council for the Social Studies, Yearbook, 1954, Approaches to an Understanding of World Affairs.

3. Bidwell, Percy, *Undergraduate Education in Foreign Affairs*, 1963 King's Crown Press, New York.

4. Wilson, Howard and Florence, *American Higher Education and World Affairs*, American Council on Education, 1963, pp. 23-27.

5. Kenworthy, Leonard, "Developing World-Minded Teachers," *NCSS Yearbook*, 1954, p. 396 ff.

6. Laves, Walter, H.C., "What Does the Citizen Need to Know About World Affairs," *Social Education*, October 1951, pp. 275-278.

7. Kirk, Grayson, "Materials for the Study of International Relations," *World Politics*, April 1949.

8. Becker, James, "An Examination of Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools." Proposal for Research Submitted to U.S. Office of Education, May 1966, p. 4.

APPENDIX F

PRESENTATIONS AT EDUCATORS' CONFERENCES

Presentations were made and discussions were held about the study at the following conferences for educators:

Workshop on World Affairs, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky., January 12, 1967; sponsored by the University of Louisville;for area educators.

Plenary Session of the Joint Conference of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies and the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies, Allentown, Pa., April 22, 1967.

Seminar on "Development in the Emerging World," White House Inn, Chicopee, Mass., September 24-26, 1967; for area educators; sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with the State Education Departments of Conn., Maine, Mass., N. H., R.I. and Vermont.

Senior Staff Seminar, Teachers College, Columbia University, December 19, 1967.

"Seminar on the Study of World Affairs," University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, March 5-7, 1968, sponsored by the University of Delaware, the Delaware Social Studies Council and the Foreign Policy Association;for area educators.

International Studies Association Conference, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C., March 28-30, 1968.

Convention of the Indiana Council for the Social Studies, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, April 5-6, 1968.

Seminar on the "Citizen In Tomorrow's World," Ramada Inn, Topeka, Kansas, April 21-23, 1968; sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association;for area educators.

Seminar on "Educating Citizens for the 21st Century," Timberline Lodge, Mt. Hood, Oregon, April 28-30, 1968; sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association; for area educators.

Seminar on Modernization, Michigan State University Extension Center, Benton Harbor, Michigan, May 1-3, 1968; sponsored by the MSU Social Science Teaching Institute, the NCA Foreign Relations Project, and the Foreign Policy Association; for area educators.

NDEA Institute, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo., July 8, 1968

Estes Park Conference on Elementary Education, Stanley Hotel, Estes Park, Colo., July 19-21, 1968· sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with the University of Denver's NDEA Institute.

Northern California Conference on Strengthening World Affairs in the Curriculum, Alta Mira Hotel, Sausalito, Calif., Sept. 29-30, 1968; sponsored by San Jose State College in cooperation with the Foreign Policy Association, the California Council for the Social Studies, and local social studies councils; for area educators.

Conference for college and university faculty on "Preparing Social Studies Teachers to Teach About Cultures Other Than Our Own," October 25-26, 1968; sponsored by the New York State Education Dept.

National Council for the Social Studies Convention, Washington, D. C., November 29, 1968; Section meeting on "Civic Education for Participation in a World Society."

Faculty Seminar on International Education, Indiana University. December 7, 1968.

Seminar on "Value Issues in a Free Society," West Virginia University Conference Center, Morganstown, W. Va., January 19-21, 1969; sponsored by the NCA Foreign Relations Project, Northwestern University, West Virginia University, Region 1 Pace Center, West Virginia Council of Social Studies Supervisors, West Virginia Department of Education and the Foreign Policy Association; for area educators.

Conference on "Education for the Seventies," Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois, March 6-7, 1969; sponsored by the NCA Foreign Relations Project, Western Illinois University and the Foreign Policy Association; for area educators.

APPENDIX G

U.S. Office of Education
Social Studies Programs in Research
A Directory

Elementary-Secondary

Anrig, Gregory R., and Lawrence H. Vadnais, Jr., Development of a Pilot Program for a Cultural Approach to the Study of History in Grades Seven and Eight, Mt. Greylock Regional High School, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

*Arnoff, Melvin, The Development of First Grade Materials on "Families of Japan," Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

Bailey, Wilfred, and Marion J. Rice, Development of a Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology for Grades 1-7, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Becker, James M., An Examination of Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools, Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

Bernstein, Edgar, A Study to Develop Instructional Materials for a Ninth and Tenth Grade World History Curriculum Integrating History and the Social Sciences, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Beyer, Barry K., Development and Testing of Instructional Materials, Teaching Guides and Units on the History and Culture of Sub-Saharan Africa. Dept. of History, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburg, Pa.

Brown, Richard H., and Van R. Halsey, Jr., Construction & Use of Source Material Units in History and Social Studies, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Chandler, B. J., Sounds of Society: A Demonstration Program in Group Inquiry, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

Cole, Allan B., Survey of Asian Studies in Secondary Schools in New England, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

Coleman, James S., Research Program in the Effects of Games with Simulated Environment in Secondary Education. Department of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Crabtree, Charlotte, A., Teaching Geography in Grades One Through Three: Effects of Instruction in the Core Concept of Geographic Theory, University of California at Los Angeles, Calif.

Davis, O. L., Jr., Effectiveness of Using Graphic Illustrations with Social Studies Textual Materials, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

*Edgar, Robert W., Impact on Learning and Retention of Specially-Developed History Materials for Culturally Deprived Children, Queens College, City University of New York, New York, N.Y.

Elliott, Richard W., A Study of the Effectiveness of Taped Lessons in Geography Instruction, Westfield Public Schools, Westfield, Massachusetts.

Engle, Shirley H., and Howard D. Mehlinger, A High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Fenton, Edwin, The Development of a Sequential and Cumulative Curriculum in the Social Studies for Able Students, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

*Fox, Robert S., and Ronald Lippitt, Teaching of Social Science Material in the Elementary School, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

*Fries, Norman H., An Exploratory Study in Teaching World History in German, Board of Education. Common School District Joint No. 16 Sussex, Wisconsin.

*Garvey, Dale M., and William H. Seiler, A Study of Effectiveness of Different Methods of Teaching International Relations to High School Students, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas.

*Gibson, John S., The Development of Instructional Materials Pertaining to Racial and Cultural Diversity in America, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

Gibson, John S., Development of Instructional Units and Related Materials on Racial and Cultural Diversity in America, (Continuation of above project), Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

Gill, Clark, C., and William B. Conroy, Development of Guidelines and Resource Materials on Latin America for Use in Grades I-XII, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Grennan, Sister Jacqueline, Curriculum Innovation in the Fields of History, Science, Music and Art Within a Single Institute, Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri.

Hardy, Donald W., Inland Valley Elementary School Archeology Project, University of California, Berkeley, California.

*Harnack, Robert C., The Use of Electronic Computers to Improve Individualization of Instruction Through Unit Teaching, State University of New York at Buffalo, N.Y.

Havighurst, Robert J., and Robert L. McCaul, The Interaction Between Education and Society in Chicago, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Hawkes, Glenn W., A Philosophical and Historical Rationale for a New Approach to "Problems of Democracy," Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Hennebry, Howard M., Conservation Education Improvement Project, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

*Hess, Robert D., and David Easton, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Johnson, Carl S., Survey of Printed Materials on Conservation Education, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Joyce, Bruce R., Use of a Data Storage and Retrieval System to Teach Elementary School Children Concepts and Modes of Inquiry in the Social Sciences, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

*Kastner, Harold H., Jr., Knowledge of Economics of Eleventh Grade U.S. History Students, Florida State Department of Education, Tallahassee, Florida.

*Lalor, Ida B., and Maurice L. Hartung, To Study Insights Gained From a High School Social Studies Course, University of Chicago, Chicago,Illinois.

Lee, John R., Social Studies Curriculum Study Center: A Sequential Curriculum on American Society for Grades 5-12, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Leppert, Ella C., A Sequential Social Studies Course for the Secondary School, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Lovenstein, Meno, The Development of Economic Curricular Materials for Secondary Schools, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

*Lowe, William T., A Study of the Objectivity of Materials Used in Current Events Instruction in Secondary School Social Studies Classrooms, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Meux, Milton C., Evaluative Teaching Strategies in the Social Studies, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Michaelis, John U., Preparation of Teaching Guides and Materials on Asian Countries for Use in Grades 1-12, University of California at Berkeley, California.

Moore, Jerry, Experimental Statewide Seminars in Teaching About Democracy and Totalitarianism, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

*Morrissett, Irving, To Aid in the Development of Social Science Education, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

*Mukerji, Rose, and Helen F. Robinson, Demonstration of Concept and Language Development in a Kindergarten of Disadvantaged Children, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York

Nicolosi, Louis, Preparation of Teaching Guides and Materials on World Geography, North American Geography and Louisiana Geography for Use in Grades I-XII. Louisiana State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Oliver, Donald, A Law and Social Science Curriculum Based on the Analysis of Public Issues, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

*Perrone, Vito, Image of Latin America: A Study of American School Textbooks and School Children Grades Two Through Twelve, Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan.

*Pinner, Frank A., Relationships Between High School Group Structures and the Development of Orientations Toward Public Affairs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Price, Roy A., Identification of Major Social Science Concepts and Their Utilization in Instructional Materials, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

Shaplin, Judson T., Development of a Model for the St. Louis Metropolitan Social Studies Center, Grades K-12, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

Shaver, James P., A Secondary School Social Studies Curriculum Focused on Thinking Reflectively About Public Issues. Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

Shinn, Ridgway F., Jr., A Study of a Geo-Historical Structure for a Social Studies Curriculum, Rhode Island College, Providence, Rhode Island.

*Shinn, Ridgway F., Jr., An Investigation into the Utilization of Geography & History as Integrating Disciplines for Social Studies Curricular Development in a Public School System, Rhode Island College, Providence, Rhode Island.

Sperling, John G., and Suzanne E. Wiggins, Development and Evaluation of a 12th Grade Course in the Principles of Economics, San Jose State College, San Jose, California.

Springer, Ursula K., Recent Curriculum Developments at the Middle Level of French, West German, and Italian Schools, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, New York, N.Y.

Taba, Hilda, Development of a Comprehensive Curriculum Model for Social Studies, Grades 1-8, Including Procedures for Implementation, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.

*Taba, Hilda, Thinking in Elementary School Children, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.

*Vance, Merle W., Demonstration to Improve the Teaching of Social Studies - Grades One-Six, Sacramento State College, Sacramento, California.

West, Edith, Preparation and Evaluation of Curriculum Guides and Sample Pupil Materials for Social Studies in Grades K-14, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Wing, Richard L., The Production and Evaluation of Three Computer-Based Economic Games for the Sixth Grade, First Supervisory District Schools, Yorktown Heights, Westchester County, N.Y.

Zangrando, Robert L., The Identification of Criteria for the Effective Use of Films in Teaching History in the Classroom in a Variety of Teaching Situations. Grades 7-12. American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.

Related Project

Porter, M. Roseamonde, Curriculum Improvement Program in English Language Communication Skills for Schools of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Higher Education

Angell, Robert C., and Paul Puryear, Inter-University Cooperation in the Development of Social Science Research in Race Relations, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Coward, H. Roberts, Political Military Exercises in Political Science. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Curti, Merle, Eric E. Lampard, and William R. Taylor, American History Laboratory Course, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Dowd, Douglas F., Development of a New Approach to Teaching Introductory Social Science in College, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

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Kreisman, Arthur, A Block Teaching Project Integrating Humanities and Social Studies, Southern Oregon College, Ashland, Oregon.

Krislov, Samuel, Laboratories as an Approach to the Teaching of Political Science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Kremple, F. A., Multimedia Visual Aids as Instructional Techniques in College History Survey Courses, Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point, Wisconsin.

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Perloe, S. I., To Develop and Partially Validate a Questionnaire to Measure Values Relevant to Good Citizenship & to Prepare a Large Scale Project to Study Value Change in a Variety of Colleges, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Powell, John W., Planning and Creation of an Integrated Two Year Liberal Arts Curriculum in World Civilization for University Freshmen and Sophomores, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

Taylor, Harold, The Preparation of American Teachers in the Field of World Affairs, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Washington, D.C.

Taylor, William R., American History Laboratory Project, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Willis, Thomas A., Development and Evaluation of a Programmed Text in Criminal Law, University of Miami, Miami, Florida.

*Denotes completed projects.

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Wilhelmina Hill, Specialist for Social Science
and
Charles R. Foster, Specialist for Social Science
with ass tance from
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7/16/68

APPENDIX H

Some Federal, Regional and State Activities in World Affairs: A Selected List

Alliance for Progress Program

"Partners of the Alliance" program involving exchange of students, teachers, and administrators from Alabama, Delaware, Maine, Oregon.

Alabama

Goshen Pilot School Project - Alabama Department of Education, University of Alabama and Goshen School seek to enrich curriculum in grades 1-12 in all subject matter fields through selected dimensions of international education.

Exchange programs with El Salvador and Guatemala involving students, teachers, and administrators.

Colorado

Consultant from Colombia.

Summer NDEA Institute in international communism under auspices of Department of Education and Colorado State University.

Colorado International Relations Clubs hold annual meeting at the University of Denver.

Florida

Six week unit on communism is mandatory in all Florida high schools.

Illinois

NDEA Title III workshop "Teaching Cultural Themes of Latin America".

Indiana

ESEA Title III Center for the Study of India, New Albany-Floyd County Schools.

Louisiana

Pilot program in International Studies at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, involving the Institute's A. E. Phillips Laboratory School and Neville High School, Monroe: Experiment in teaching international affairs in elementary and secondary schools during 1967-1968.

Exchange with Costa Rica - Sister school arrangement between St. Bernard Parish School system and Guyaquie, Costa Rica

Maryland

Ann Arundel County has Title III social studies project in which international affairs is included.

Mississippi

State Education Department cooperates with Cordell Hull Foundation in encouraging employment of Latin American teachers as Spanish teachers for one or two years.

Missouri

Title III Metropolitan Social Studies Project in Greater St. Louis area includes international affairs in its program.

New York

ESEA Title III Summer Institute in non-Western cultures, Westchester County, 200 participants, 9-12 grade students.

ESEA Title III Adirondack World Affairs Resources for Education (AWARE) Center, Glens Falls.

North Carolina

Academic Center for Latin American Studies, ESEA Title III Project involving students from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee.

Ohio

ESEA Title III Chinese-Russian Study Center established in Toledo Schools.

Pennsylvania

NDEA Title III funds used in in-service programs in world cultures and in development of curriculum materials.

Alleghany County Schools' ESEA Title III "Intercultural Understanding Project."

South Carolina

Using Title V funds, the Department of Education and State ETV network produced a series of films entitled "Comparative Political and Economic Systems."

Texas

Regional Educational Agencies Project - International Education; Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Alabama; sponsored under ESEA Title V. Newsletters, conferences, exchange students and teachers, and consultations used to create interest in and understanding of the importance of international education.

Audio-tape service includes materials on Asia and Africa.

International Good Neighbor Youth Council.

Program of InterAmerican Education, ESEA Title III, Bryan Independent School District.

West Virginia

NDEA Title XI Afro-Asian Institute at Bethany in cooperation with the State Department of Education developed a unit on Afro-Asia.

Wisconsin

Conferences for teachers on Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Teacher exchange project under U. S. Office of Education International Teacher Exchange Program.

APPENDIX I

EPDA Institutes in International Affairs and World Areas
1969-1970*

ARIZONA

University of Arizona, Department of Government, Tucson 85721. The Changing Face of Communism in Eastern Europe. Junior and senior high school teachers. Primarily the Southwest. July 14-August 22. Peter A. Toma.

COLORADO

Colorado College, Department of Political Science, Colorado Springs, 80903. Comparative Systems in a World Setting. High school teachers. Open. June 16-July 25. Fred A. Sondermann.

University of Denver, Denver 80210. Program to Develop Techniques for Curricula in the Elementary Schools. Teachers, supervisors, and administrators (grades K-6). Open. June 16, 1969-April 17, 1970. Edith M. King.

University of Denver, Graduate School of International Studies, Denver 80210. A Prospective Teacher Fellowship Program and Some Part-time Inservice Activities. Denver Area teachers, supervisors, administrators, librarians. Open. September 1, 1969-June 30, 1970. Josef Korbel.

CONNECTICUT

University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport 06602. An Institute in Asian and African History. Teachers (grades 6-12). Local Phase I, June 30-August 8. Phase II, part-time September 1969-June 1970. Albert J. Schmidt and Phillip Woodruff.

GEORGIA

Savannah State College, Division of Social Science, Box 208, Savannah 31404. African and Afro-American History. Social studies teachers of disadvantaged youth (grades 7-12). Primarily local, but open nationally. June 10-July 21. Hanes Walton, Jr.

ILLINOIS

Northwestern University, Department of Political Science, Evanston, 60201. A Summer Institute in African Studies. Junior and senior high school teachers. Open. June 23-August 1. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod.

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* List compiled from "Education Professions Development Act: Programs for 1969-1970;" Bureau of Educational Personnel Development, Office of Education, February, 1969.

KANSAS

Wichita State University, Wichita 67208. An Interdisciplinary Approach to History and Social Studies. Teachers (grades 7-12). June 23, 1969-June 4, 1970. John D. Born, Jr.

LOUISIANA

Southern University, Department of Political Science, P. O. Box 9586, Baton Rouge 70813. A Summer Institute on Political Change and Development (U.S. and Africa). High school teachers, primarily of disadvantaged youth. Open. June 16-August 2. Moses Akpan.

MARYLAND

John Hopkins University. Bologna Center, Via Belmeloro 2, Bologna, Italy. A Summer Institute in European Studies. Teachers in U.S. Schools in Europe and teachers from the U.S. (grades 4-12). June 30-August 17. Grove Haines.

MASSACHUSETTS

Smith College, Northampton 01060. An Institute: The Black Experience, A Comparative Study of the United States and Latin America. Teachers (grades 9-12). New England. June 23-August 15. Louis Cohn-Hoft.

Williams College, Williamstown 01267. An Interdisciplinary Institute in European and World History. 1969-70 academic year. Teachers (grades 10-12). Robert G. L. Waite

MINNESOTA

The College of Saint Catherine, 2004 Randolph Avenue, St. Paul 55101. Latin American Area Study. Teachers, supervisors, and administrators (grades 4-12). June 23-August 8. Sister Karen Kennelly.

NEW YORK

City University of New York, Brooklyn College, Department of Education, Avenue H and Bedford, Brooklyn 11210. An Institute for the Study of History and Culture of India and Pakistan. Teachers, supervisors, administrators, and trainers of teachers. July-August plus part-time September 1969-June 1970. Teachers from New York City and national. Melvin E. Levison.

New York State Education Department, Center for International Programs, Albany 12224. A Summer Institute in Four New York State Locations to Teach Non-Western Cultures to Teachers of Disadvantaged Children. Primarily for New York State and adjoining States. Teachers of disadvantaged youth (grades K-12). July 1-August 1. Ward Morehouse.

St. John's University, Department of History, New York 11432. A Summer Institute in African Studies. Junior and senior high school. Teachers of disadvantaged youth. Open. July 14-August 29. Harold Weaver, Jr.

PENNSYLVANIA

University of Pittsburgh, Center for Latin American Studies, Pittsburgh 15213. A Summer Institute in Latin American Studies Including a Field Trip to Guatemala. Trainers of teachers. June 24-August 12. Thomas A. Hart.

WISCONSIN

Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh, Department of History, Oshkosh 54901. Introduction to African History and Culture. Teachers of disadvantaged youth (grades 7-12). June 30-August 8. Lee N. Newcomer.

APPENDIX J

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y.

Independent Non-Partisan Community Organizations,
Foreign Policy Associations, World Affairs Councils
and
Related Organizations (64)

(Councils listed by FPA Regional Offices:
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March 1969

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William C. Messner, Jr., Executive Director

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Cleveland, Ohio 44004
Earl P. Schneider, President
Mrs. Burton R. Binyon (Dorothy) , Executive Director

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Columbus, Ohio 43216
C. Maurice Wieting

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Dayton, Ohio 45402
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Mr. George T. Little, Managing Director

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c/o Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas
Hugh Patterson, President

DELAWARE

World Affairs Council of Wilmington
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John G. Craig, Jr. President
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Dr. Seymour E. Seymour, President

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Adult Education Council (615) 267-1218
526 Vine Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Miss Carol Glenn, Executive Secretary

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Public Affairs Committee (303) 266-0851
Adult Education Council
of Metropolitan Denver
Public Library
1357 Broadway
Denver, Colorado

ILLINOIS

University of Illinois (217) 333-1000
Division of Extension in International Affairs
119 Illini Hall
Champaign, Illinois 61822
Mr. J. Terry Iverson, Academic Clordinator

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (312) RA 6-3860
116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60603
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(Henry B. Cox, Director of Education)

Springfield World Affairs Center
215 West Elliot
Springfield, Illino8s
Mrs. Andreason

IOWA

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Coe College
Cedar Rapids, Iowa
John M. Ely, Chairman

KANSAS

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Kansas State University
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Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
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Los Angeles, California 90017
Preston Hotchkis, President
John H. Robinson, Jr., Executive Director

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c/o Los Angeles World Affairs Council
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Los Angeles, California 90017
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San Diego, California 92115
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Albert L. Reeves, President
Merritt K. Ruddock, Executive Director

World Affairs Council of Sacramento
1021 Swanston Drive
Sacramento, California
Reginald Price, President
Mrs. Samuel G. Hanson, Vice President

HAWAII

The Pacific and Asian Affairs Council
2014 University Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814
Mr. C.C. Cadagan, President
Arthur A. Chase, Vice President

The World Affairs Forum of Hawaii (Club 15)
1025 Pensacola Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814
George Yamamoto, President

IDAHO

Treasure Valley Foreign Affairs Group (208) 385-1011
Boise College
1907 Campus Drive
Boise, Idaho 83701
Avery Peterson, Executive Director

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World Affairs Council of Oregon (503) 226-7271
1809 S.W. Sixth Avenue, Rm. 26
Portland, Oregon 97201
Peter Gantenbein, President

Oregon Great Decisions Council
355 Lancaster Drive, S.E.
Salem, Oregon 97301
Clifford L. Cook, resident

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J. Knox Woodruff, President
Mrs. Walter D Smith (Jeanne), Director

World Affairs Council of Tacoma (206) LE 7-8611
Pacific Luthern University
Tacoma, Washington 98444
Lon A. Hoover, D.O., President

3/24/69

APPENDIX K

ORGANIZATIONS IN WORLD AFFAIRS

A SELECTED LIST

African-American Institute
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

American Association of School Administrators - Association for the Advancement of International Education
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

American Bar Association
115 East 60 Street
Chicago, Illinois

American Council on Education Commission on International Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

American Field Services
313 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Anthropology Curriculum Study Project
5632 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Asia Society
112 East 64th Street
New York, New York

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Atlantic Council of the U.S.
1616 H. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Atlantic Information Center for Teachers
23-25 Abbey House
8 Victoria Street
London, England

The Bridge - A Center for the Advancement of Intercultural Studies
1439 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Center for Information on America
Washington, Conn.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Center for War/Peace Studies
218 East 18th Street
New York, New York

Comparative Education Society
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio

Council for the Study of Mankind
Santa Monica, Calif.

Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York

Designing Education for the Future
1362 Lincoln Street
Denver, Colorado

Diablo Valley Schools Project
on Teaching About War and
Peace
1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, Calif.

East-West Center
Teacher Interchange Program
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii

Education and World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Education Development Center
44 Chapel Street
Newton, Mass.

Education Research Council of
Greater Cleveland
Greater Cleveland Social Science
Program
Rockefeller Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Educational Development
Cooperative of South Cook and
North Will Counties, Illinois

Experiment in International Living
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

Foreign Policy Association
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

High School Geography Project
(Association of American
Geographers)
Box 1095
Boulder, Colorado

Institute for the Development of
Educational Activities (IDEA)
(Kettering Foundation)
5335 Far Hills Avenue
Dayton, Ohio

Institute for International Education
809 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

International Education Association
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

International Schools Services
554 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

International Studies Advisory Council
of the Cooperative Center for
Social Science Education
Ohio State University
Athens, Ohio

International Studies Association
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Japan Society
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Joint Council on Economic Education
1212 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

League of Women Voters
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Lincoln Filene Center
Tufts University
Medford, Mass.

National Association of Secondary
School Principals
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

National Catholic Education Association
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

National Committee on U.S.-
China Relations
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

National Council for Geographic
Education
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois

National Council for the Social
Studies
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

National Education Association
Committee on International
Relations
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

National Education Association
Department of Elementary School
Principals
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Nations, Incorporated
2126 McKinley Street
Berkeley, Calif.

North Central Association's
Foreign Relations Project
53 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

Ogontz Plan of Mutual Understanding
International House
140 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Phi Delta Kappan Committee on
International Relations
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Service Center for Teachers of
History
American Historical Association
400 A. Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.

Social Science Education Consortium
1424 15th Street
Boulder, Colorado

Society for Citizen Education in
World Affairs
122 Social Science Building
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

Sociological Resources for Secondary
Schools
(American Sociological Association)
503 First National Building
Ann Arbor, Michigan

United Nations Association
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

U. S. National Commission for UNESCO
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

World Law Fund
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

APPENDIX L

The World and the American Teacher

Summary of Recommendations[1]

What teachers or anyone else can learn about world affairs depends on how sensitive they are to the political, social, and cultural life around them in their own society and in the world at large. Or, to put it differently, to understand the world's affairs and the nature of world society, it is necessary to be interested in and conscious of the issues which are alive in one's immediate society. In this, teachers are no different from the rest of mankind. It is everyone's educational problem to learn how to think perceptively and act intelligently in the context of modern society, with society now defined on a global and not a local scale.

The preparation of teachers in world affairs must therefore deal not merely with formal academic courses in foreign cultures, international relations, world history, and so on, but with the quality of intellectual and social experience available to those who are going to teach in the colleges and the schools. This applies whether or not their field is the arts, the sciences, or the field of world affairs itself. Whatever they teach, they should be educated in a way calculated to raise the level of their own awareness of what is happening in the world around them.

This means that those who are becoming teachers should have a chance to cross over, through their studies and their personal experience, to a culture different from the one in which they have been born and raised. This will provide them something to compare themselves with, and, by comparisons, they can learn to look at society from a broad perspective. Since most American teachers are unquestioning members of the white middle class who have seldom had a chance to move outside that class and its social milieu into a wider world, their educational need is for a broader range of experience with cultures and people unlike themselves. Without that, the academic studies designed to prepare them to teach in world affairs and other fields will have little effect on the growth of their understanding of social issues and human values, since the issues either will go unobserved or be considered from too narrow a perspective - a perspective limited by the student's own culture.

The recommendations of the present Report stem from the thought that education is the means by which societies and persons become conscious of themselves and of the changes going on within societies - the better to discover what kind of changes are desirable and how best to bring them about. The emphasis throughout the Report is on the quality of experience to be made available to the student who is becoming a teacher. No sharp distinction should be made between what is involved in learning to be a teacher and what is involved in becoming a person of intellectual and cultural substance, able to act in the world. For the educator of teachers, it is a matter of how, through arranging a series of appropriate experiences in intellectual, cultural, and social affairs, the student can learn to understand himself and others, to think clearly, to gain a body of knowledge about man, nature, and the world, and to teach what he has learned to others. The sooner he begins practicing the art of getting hiw own knowledge, thinking for himself, working and studying with other people, and teaching what he knows, the better will be his education and its eventual results in his work as a teacher.

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[1] Taylor, Harold. The World and the American Teacher. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1968. pp. 291-305.

General Recommendations

To begin, we can generally recommend --

1. That we stop thinking of the education of teachers exclusively in terms of formal academic requirements and professional courses and consider instead the ways in which their intellectual interests and experiences in the affairs of the world can be increased in range and quality.

2. That the study of world affairs not be considered a special area in international relations and world history for those being trained to teach in the field, but that the content of the entire undergraduate curriculum - particularly in the social and behavioral sciences and in the humanities - be revised to reflect a world point of view on man and society and to involve all students in ideas, materials, literature, and the comparative studies from the cultures of the world.

3. That we shift the emphasis in teacher education away from the continual discussion of certification problems and procedures and place responsibility and support for new programs where it belongs: in the hands of students and teachers, working together in the academic and professional departments, in the schools, in the communities, and in the community agencies now cooperating with colleges of education, educational laboratories, and centers for the study of urban, rural, and international problems.

4. That the colleges and universities be reorganized to give students responsibility for conducting their own education, for developing their own study projects, for teaching themselves through research projects, field work at home and abroad, student-led seminars, tutoring children and fellow-students, and inclusion in policy-making bodies within the colleges and universities. In this way, we can not only improve the quality of undergraduate and graduate education, but develop a higher degree of motivation and interest among students for careers in teaching.

5. That a nationwide volunteer Student Corps of 25,000 students be organized with government subsidy as an extension of the ideas and programs of VISTA, Head Start, the National Teacher Corps, and exchange Peace Corps. Service and study in foreign and American communities should be considered a regular part of teacher education programs.

6. That the American campus be considered a central place where students assemble to learn what they need to know in order to become

educated and useful. The rest of the world, both inside and outside the United States, should be considered a general worldwide campus where students from the United States and other countries come together to educate each other with the help of scholars and teachers.

7. That the idea of the world as a campus become central in the thinking of those concerned with the education of teachers and that practical programs reflecting this idea become a central part of the work of educational planners.

8. That we take as models for new programs in the education of teachers projects developed within the Peace Corps, Exchange Peace Corps, National Teacher Corps, VISTA, Head Start, International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, International Volunteer Service, the Experiment in International Living, and other government and voluntary agencies concerned with social change and world affairs.

9. That the standard pattern of two years of general education requirements, an academic major, and a specified number of professional courses and practice teaching in the junior and senior year be radically modified (a) to allow the student to become directly involved in teaching, in the schools, in the community, and in his undergraduate college and (b) to allow for a high degree of flexibility in meeting the academic degree requirements. The new program would accept as meeting these requirements field work abroad and at home, Peace Corps and other kinds of voluntary service, independent study, student-run seminars, practical experience in research, and projects in the community.

10. That state departments of education take as their primary role - rather than the regulating of certification of teachers - the planning and initiating of new programs in international study (abroad and at home), international curriculums, and international relationships with schools, teachers colleges, universities, and ministries of education in other countries.

11. That the education of teachers - for all levels of education, from nursery school to graduate study - be made a primary concern of the government and of the colleges and universities. The educational system of the public schools and the colleges, universities, and graduate schools can only proceed as far and as successfully as the quality of teaching in every part of the system.

12. That wherever there are programs and organizations with international connections - government bureaus, AID, Overseas Schools, the National Science Foundation, Institute of Mental Health, UNICEF, the Atomic Energy Commission, Experiment in International Living, university centers abroad, the Smithsonian Institution, the Council on International Educational Exchange - a component of teacher education be included in the existing structure. The intellectual and financial resources available to these organizations can be utilized to develop teachers with international experience.

13. That foreign students - both graduate and undergraduate - be considered a primary source when recruiting student teachers and teaching

assistants for service in American schools and colleges, and that student teachers be recruited from foreign countries specifically for that purpose.

14. That international teaching centers be established on American campuses, with connections and exchange arrangements with institutions abroad for educational research, international curriculum making, practice teaching, and teacher education.

15. That educators of teachers turn their attention to the primary importance of the creative arts both in national and international education; and that the painting, sculpture, theatre, music, dance, and literature of other countries be presented to American students and teachers through visiting students, artists, performers, and scholars; and that international festivals of the arts - ranging from dance to films - be sponsored and arranged by colleges of education.

16. That the content of professional education courses be revised to include the study of foreign cultures and educational systems as a central component, coordinated with study and practice teaching abroad and the expansion of connections between American and foreign schools, teacher education institutions, and universities.

17. That serious and concerted political action be taken at the earliest possible moment to secure funds for putting into effect the legislation of the International Education Act.

18. That in connection with the administration of the International Education Act and other government programs, 10,000 federal fellowships and/or scholarships be provided for student teachers - undergraduate and graduate - and young teachers already in service in the public schools and colleges, to make possible a year of study and practice teaching in foreign countries as a component of their preparation for teaching in the United States.

Specific Recommendations

In what follows, the more specific recommendations of the Report in relation to internationalism and world affairs are listed in summary form, according to the categories in which they fall.

The Peace Corps as a Teachers College

The ideal arrangement for the education of teachers in world affairs would combine direct experience inside the educational system and community life of a foreign country with a curriculum of studies in the history, language, social structure, and culture of that country, taught, preferably, by native scholars and teachers. This part of the teacher's education should be woven into his studies and his teaching experience in the United States, where he would prepare himself with a body of knowledge appropriate to the field in which he intended to teach and to his general development as an educated person.

An arrangement of this kind is possible through existing and future Peace Corps programs, as well as through other programs modeled on the Peace Corps concept. One of the principal recommendations of the Report is that through formal collaboration between the colleges and the Peace Corps, as well as through the invention of new models based on curriculums, and methods and approaches already tried by Peace Corps staff in the United States and abroad, educators of teachers should take full advantage of the possibilities for extending the Peace Corps idea into a wide range of new areas.

1. New forms of collaboration with the Peace Corps should be worked out through state departments of education, colleges of education, and universities to include Peace Corps service as a regular component in five- and six-year curriculums leading to the B.A. and M.A. degree and the teaching certificate.

2. Taking the concept of Peace Corps service abroad as an organizing principle, existing curriculums and requirements for the teaching certificate should be modified to allow development of individual study programs during the undergraduate years for those intending to serve in the Peace Corps after graduation and for others interested in foreign affairs, international education, and international service of all kinds. This would include not only special junior - year - abroad projects, international education workshops, and institutes in foreign countries and on American campuses, staffed by foreign students and teachers as well as their American counterparts. The courses and individual study plans in history, sociology, anthropology, foreign languages, literature, comparative education, and the arts would be chosen by the student and his faculty adviser to make up a comprehensive individually planned curriculum for that student.

3. Special graduate programs leading to the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees should be organized for returning Peace Corps volunteers. They would include practice teaching, flexible study programs, and curriculum development projects based on the previous experience of the volunteers in study and teaching abroad.

4. The Exchange Peace Corps idea should be extended, both through the expansion of government programs of the kind now being conducted by the State Department and by initiatives from the colleges and universities, to permit foreign students already in this country and others to be recruited from abroad to teach in the American schools and to participate in community development projects.

5. Individual faculty members in colleges of education should be assigned to liaison work with the Peace Corps for the development of study-teaching projects abroad for American student teachers. The Peace Corps could be of immeasurable help by virtue of its connections with foreign ministries of education and American embassies abroad. Foreign teachers and students would be recruited to work with their American counterparts in teaching and curriculum development both in the United States and in Peace Corps countries.

6. Returning Peace Corps volunteers should be recruited for teaching and research assignments in colleges of education which would collaborate with local school teachers, student teachers, and high school students interested in foreign affairs. The returned volunteers, selected on the basis of their ability and readiness for the work, would

be asked to develop and test experimental curriculums - using materials and experience from abroad - in cooperation with elementary and high school teachers and a supervising faculty member from the college of education. Other volunteers should be recruited to serve in the college in developing new study programs and to advise students interested in entering the Peace Corps or similar foreign service projects.

7. The master of arts in teaching should be expanded in concept and program to include a three-year M.A. for the B.A. graduate. Six months of the senior year would be spent in preparing for Peace Corps service under special curricular arrangements; two years would be spent in service abroad, during which time the graduate student would submit research reports to and exchange correspondence with a supervising faculty member at home and possibly a member of the Peace Corps staff in the resident country. The program would end with six months of study on the home campus and practice teaching nearby. Similar extension of the master of arts in teaching idea could be made with help from, although not necessarily service in, the Peace Corps in a two-year curriculum. One year would be spent in volunteer service abroad, with six months of preparation beforehand and six months of further study and teaching after the year abroad.

8. Four-year Peace Corps doctorate programs should be established. The two years of foreign service would be linked to a doctoral thesis based on field work, in a style similar to doctoral programs in anthropology.

9. The idea of the Stanford undergraduate regional centers abroad should be extended to include specific projects in teacher education for juniors and seniors taking the teaching certificate with the B.A. degree. This idea would emphasize the collaboration of foreign nationals who are student teachers and teachers with American counterparts.

International Programs Possible Through Existing Organizations with International Connections

1. Wherever there are AID programs in educational development, the sponsoring universities should include graduate and undergraduate students of education in the country teams. They would perform research, studies, and community development work as assistants to a university faculty member.

2. Faculty members serving abroad on educational missions for AID or other U.S. government agencies should, if possible, arrange for graduate students of education to accompany them in one or another capacity (on university fellowships or government and foundation grants) for the development of curriculum materials and direct experience with foreign educational systems.

3. Organizations like the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service or UNICEF should arrange for B.A. graduates from a number of countries, including the United States, to form volunteer international teams for work in education, teaching, and research. Academic supervision and credit would be given by the institutions to which the students are attached.

4. The Office of Overseas Schools, administered by the U.S. Department of State, should collaborate with colleges of education and U.S. school systems in establishing practice teaching and curriculum and research projects in U.S.-supported schools abroad in which student teachers could serve for periods from one semester to two years while remaining connected with their institutions at home.

5. Through consortia like those involved in the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Great Lakes College Association, and the Regional Council for International Education, colleges and universities can combine their resources abroad and at home in developing educational programs for undergraduates and graduates who intend to enter the teaching profession.

6. Projects similar to that undertaken by UNESCO in its Education for International Understanding and Cooperation should be duplicated by other international organizations to create new links between teachers in a variety of countries for exchange of students, teachers, materials, curriculums, tapes, films, and other educational instruments.

7. International study projects similar to that sponsored by the UNESCO-International Universities Association on admission to universities should be organized on a broad scale through existing organizations with international connections: the World Academy of Arts and Sciences, Universities and the Quest for Peace, the World Law Fund, the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

State Departments of Education; Certification and Professional Education Requirements

As indicated above under General Recommendations, state departments of education should shift their emphasis from defining course requirements and credit-counting procedures to planning and initiating new programs in the education of teachers. We can specifically recommend --

1. That special arrangements be made in cooperation with the universities and schools to evaluate foreign teaching experience by Peace Corps volunteers and others who have had teaching and educational experience abroad in order that (a) credit toward certification be awarded for bona fide work in education and teaching abroad, (b) students with foreign experience and interests be recruited into the teaching profession, and (c) regulatory programs of the departments exhibit a wider latitude in requirements for educational subject matter and practical teaching and field experience.

2. That the departments call upon colleges of education and universities for the development of new programs in international education for teachers and, as is the case in New York State, establish projects of their own for cooperation with educators and institutions abroad in the exchange of teachers and curricular materials.

3. That the courses in education accepted for the certification of teachers be thoroughly revised to include (a) comparative studies of foreign educational systems, (b) field work at home and abroad in study and experience with a variety of forms of education, (c) material drawn

from the social and behavioral sciences - particularly cultural anthropology - which can introduce the student to foreign cultures within the context of national educational systems.

4. That faculty members in colleges of education organize two- to three-year projects in the development of new education courses with content drawn from foreign educational and social systems, through summer travel and study and through cooperation with foreign educators, returned Peace Corps volunteers and staff, and faculty colleagues who are experts in foreign cultures.

5. That colleges of education appoint scholars in the social sciences and the humanities who have an interest in education and world cultures, rather than relying on other subject matter departments and research centers in the university to teach students of education to become aware of social issues and world problems.

6. That the process of regional and national accreditation of programs of teacher education be revised to emphasize and encourage variations in the standard pattern of curriculum to ensure the inclusion of a maximum of foreign experience and study on the part of the student body.

7. That staff members be appointed to state departments of education with specific responsibilities for international education throughout the state and that through connections established between institutions abroad, state school districts, colleges of education, and universities arrange for exchange of faculty, international summer workshops, international curriculums, and joint study projects with foreign scholars and students.

8. That summer travel-study projects abroad be arranged for groups. These would include members of department staffs, state school board members, graduate students of education, teachers, principals, superintendents, and college and university presidents and deans.

9. That the work of staff members of state departments of education be arranged to include (a) travel abroad to establish liaison with foreign institutions, Peace Corps staff and volunteers, ministries of education, and American cultural affairs officers; (b) the appointment of foreign students and scholars as interns in the department; (c) joint research projects in international curriculums with foreign educators serving as interns and staff members; (d) conferences with experts in foreign affairs and area studies for consideration of curricular changes and content in teacher education programs.

10. That official as well as informal relations be arranged between state departments of education, the colleges of education, teachers of undergraduates, and community groups interested in international affairs - local World Affairs Councils, United Nations Associations, the Foreign Policy Association, the League of Women Voters, and similar organizations - so that the resources of these organizations can be put to use in the educational system and can work directly with teachers. This could include use of library and information centers, combined regional and state forums with foreign students and scholars, visiting speakers, joint travel-study trips, etc.

11. That specially qualified professors from the state or other states, returned foreign service officers, members of the United Nations Secretariat and delegations, staff members of nongovernmental international organizations be invited for one to two days of discussion with state departments of education staff members to review issues in education and world society related to the curriculum in international affairs.

Cultural Policy and Foreign Affairs

American foreign policy suffers from an underdeveloped sense of the importance of cultural power in the conduct of foreign affairs - the power, that is, of ideas and values in the arts and sciences to unite the international community around common interests and a concern for a peaceful world order. Nowhere is this underdevelopment more obvious than in the field of education and in the education of teachers, where the budgets for international work are low and the policies often contradictory.

The Report recommends --

1. That a major policy decision be made at the highest level of government on the purpose and character of the work in international education and cultural exchange, to emphasize the fact that --

(a) The use of American funds and educational manpower in international affairs should be to advance the cause of internationalism in the world community -- not simply to cultivate friendly attitudes toward America, American culture, or American foreign policy.

(b) American education is part of a world system of education, and American resources should be used to the fullest extent possible to contribute to the welfare of all other educational systems.

(c) The education of teachers, in the United States and in all other countries, should receive maximum attention in practical programs designed to create a higher level of international understanding and cooperation.

(d) All government subsidies for American students, scholars, and intellectuals for service, research, and study abroad should be completely open and in no case covert, and that wherever possible teaching, research, and study on the part of Americans abroad be conducted in partnership with the nationals of the host countries, or with international teams in cooperative projects.

(e) The function of the university is to increase the store of knowledge and to teach and disseminate that knowledge for the benefit of mankind. Therefore, universities should not be used by their governments for research on military matters, either in secret or in open projects. The criterion for the selection of appropriate university projects should be whether they aid the spread of international enlightenment in the arts, sciences, and technologies and whether the results of the research could be taught to students in American or foreign universities and schools.

(f) Since the American universities are in a favored position in world society, with financial resources and a degree of intellectual freedom unknown in most other countries, they have a special obligation to set standards for intellectual behavior in relation to political and other controls which can give leadership to the world's intellectual community.

2. That university scholars take a more active role in following the issues and decisions in cultural policy as these relate to national and international affairs and take an active part in the formation of those policies by exercising their right of criticism, review, and political action where foreign policy is concerned.

3. That the AID program of educational assistance abroad shift its emphasis toward the education of teachers, and that this shift be reflected in the allocation of funds.

4. That the AID program in Vietnam be sharply increased in size and in budget to deal with the extreme educational problems now afflicting the Vietnamese people as a result of the war, and that a major part of the effort go into the recruitment and education of teachers.

5. That a government program be developed through which qualified Americans who have served in the armed forces in Vietnam and in other developing countries and are familiar with the language and problems of those countries be recruited as volunteers to carry out teaching, community development, and other duties as civilians following their military service.

6. That other programs for the development of teachers and scholars with a knowledge of Southeast Asia be established,with a view to preparing large numbers of potential aides in the rehabilitation of Vietnamese education once the war ends as well as creating a larger body of scholarship and public understanding in the United States of the problems of Indo-China.

7. That the Educational and Cultural Exchange program of the State Department concentrate more heavily on the international education of teachers.

8. That plans be made for international festivals of the arts to be held in the United States and elsewhere, in which actors, composers, dancers, poets, painters, critics, and educators in the arts are brought together to share their performances, to translate each other's works, and to find ways of introducing their art forms into each other's educational systems.

9. That conferences of American educators be sponsored by the State Department to discuss issues in foreign policy, particularly in relation to cultural and social affairs.

10. That regional centers, initiated with American funds and administered by international committees, be established in various parts of the world for research and study of educational problems - curriculum

making, teaching, translation, etc. - where an international student body could attend for periods from six months to two years, and the staff would be recruited on a worldwide basis.

11. That existing American institutions with international connections - the Smithsonian Institution, for example - organize joint projects with students and teachers from other countries for study and research in the natural and social sciences in order to improve the quality of teaching on an international scale.

12. That government subsidies be arranged for student-initiated projects in teacher education and international affairs through which American students could join forces with students from other countries in increasing their areas of common interest and common understanding, and that the former CIA subsidies to student groups be replaced by larger grants from open government and foundation sources - in each case administered through the authority of recognized educators, as in the case of the Fulbright awards.

13. That AID organize a research component in connection with its educational missions, in order that some objective evaluation may be made of the results of its educational work, and that the literature of educational research be expanded in an international direction. The research component could be built around projects carried out by qualified university and college of education faculty members, with graduate and undergraduate students of education recruited for the research staff as part of their work toward a degree in education.

14. That the American Overseas Schools be developed into centers for teacher education and international research, for practice teaching by Americans and host nationals, and for international curriculum experiments.

The Role of Students

The recommendations having to do with students stem from the basic thesis of the Report - that the best way to learn to teach is by teaching and that teaching is not simply a matter of imparting classroom subjects skillfully but of entering the lives of other persons in order to help them fulfill their intellectual and personal powers. This means the reorganization of the whole style of instruction in the colleges and universities, with drastic modification of the lecture system. The lecture should be used only sparingly, in instances where it is appropriate. The main emphasis should be placed on making students responsible for teaching themselves and each other, whether or not they intend to become professional teachers when they graduate.

A corollary of this view calls for volunteer educational and social service in the community as a regular part of college education - particularly service in rural and urban areas, wherever student talents can be useful - not only to help in improving the quality of community life and education, but to give students a firsthand experience with the raw materials of the social and behavioral sciences. This calls for a more mobile style of college education in which summer experience, nonresident terms, travel-study projects, weekend institutes, a semester or a year of foreign study and experience, a semester or year spent at a college other than one's own, students from Negro colleges attending predominantly white institutions and vice versa, along with other shifts in cultural milieu, are included as a basic element in educational planning.

It also means giving major responsibility to student groups to plan their own courses, seminars, field work and study projects, and teaching projects in the communities. The two objections most often made to this form of education are that students are not capable of taking so great a responsibility without close supervision from the faculty and that academic credit toward a degree cannot be given for loosely supervised work whose main emphasis is on experience rather than on academic study. I have found both these points controverted by my own experience with students at Sarah Lawrence College and elsewhere. The kind of supervision to be given to student projects is of course crucial, since it must give the freedom and responsibility for intelligent educational work and at the same time provide some degree of guidance. But the principle is sound and very effective in practice. In the matter of awarding credits, the performance of students in the situations in which they are involved and the evaluation of educational results are revealed in the outcome of the projects, oral and written reports by the students, demonstrations, and evaluation by the students themselves.

Although this approach has relevance for all college students in improving the quality of their education and their ability to function as students, it has particular relevance to future teachers. In what follows, the recommendations are made with student teachers specifically in mind, although they apply to the education of students in general. If we educate all students as if they were going to become teachers, the quality of their general education would itself be improved.

Recommendations about a shift in the role of students have already been listed under the General Recommendations beginning on page 292. What follows are more specific proposals and suggestions.

1. The opportunity for teaching should be extended into the elementary and secondary schools by organizing the teaching system to allow time for children to teach each other in tutorials with appropriate assignments made by the teacher, in team projects, in assignments of junior high school students to groups of elementary school children, and volunteer service by high school students in the community, especially in poor rural areas and urban slums.

2. Education students and others should be invited to act as tutors to foreign students and to work with them in educational and study projects connected with the country of their origin.

3. Selected sophomores, juniors, and seniors should be invited by university faculty members to serve as tutors and teaching assistants for freshmen, with three-year plans made in which foreign experience by the students during summer terms or nonresident semesters can then be put to use in adding additional materials to existing courses in the humanities and social sciences.

4. Study and, if possible, practice teaching experience should be arranged abroad or in a "foreign" culture in the United States for all students who expect to be teaching a foreign language or a foreign culture.

5. Special language and study projects for student teachers should be arranged from the freshman year on in geographical areas where direct collaboration between teachers and students in bilingual communities is possible, as in the Spanish-American region of the Southwest.

6. Through cooperation with service organizations like the Experiment in International Living, the American Friends Service Committee, Operation Crossroads Africa, the World University Service, etc., student teachers should be given educational experience abroad as part of their teacher preparation curriculum.

7. During one semester of nonresident education, junior and senior education students should be asked to develop teaching and community service projects in communities other than their own - for example among the Navajos, in Appalachia, in urban communities - and to carry them out under faculty supervision and with the cooperation of local educational authorities and teachers.

8. Through arrangements made with foreign students already in this country, international projects should be developed between the foreign students and their American counterparts for joint or parallel studies and practice in education in this country and in the country of the foreign student's origin.

9. Curriculum projects should be developed by student teachers studying abroad through which student film making can become part of their contribution to the curriculum in the schools and colleges back home.

10. Students should be asked - where the talent and the equipment are available - to prepare video-taped discussions with foreign students and scholars for use in the classroom and in the community, over local television stations, and closed-circuit television on the campus.

11. More projects should be initiated such as those developed by Nations Incorporated in San Francisco, in which high school students work in intensive summer sessions with foreign students and teachers already in this country on issues in world affairs. The foreign students can bring special kinds of insight and personal knowledge.

12. International curriculum-building projects should be initiated by American colleges of education by establishing connections between students in their institutions and students abroad, with exchange of tape recordings, short stories, plays, poems and other written materials, films, and comparative studies of family and social life. These could be similar to those conducted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in its interinstitutional affiliation project.

13. A United Nations Teacher Corps should be established through the extension of present collaboration between UNICEF and UNESCO in their

work in teacher education. Internationally recruited student volunteers could spend two years in a foreign country teaching, studying, working, and living with their counterparts in order to render service to the host country, to develop an international point of view about education, and to prepare themselves through new curricular materials for service in their home countries.